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HISTORY
OF THE
ARY TRANSACTIONS
OF THE
BRITISH NATION
IN
INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

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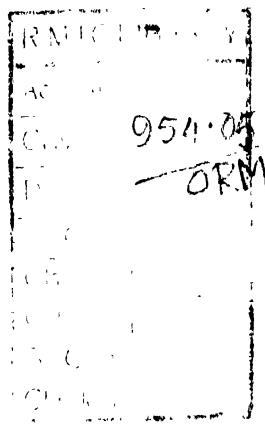
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BOOK X.

THE French detachment, which marched under the command of ¹⁷⁵⁸ Saubinet, against Trinomalee, were resisted with bravery by the ^{September} kellidar appointed by Kistnarow of Thiagar, who stood three assaults, in the last of which the French stormed the pagoda, and with much fury put 500 men to the sword. This conquest was gained on the 10th of September, and on the 16th Mr. Souprie appeared with a large division of the army before Carangoly, which Mursafabeg not thinking tenable had left with a few troops to resist slight assaults, and returned with the rest to defend Trivatore. Carangoly submitted on the first summons, and at the same time another detachment under the command of the Chevalier de Crillon marched against Trivatore, where Mursafabeg, with 300 horse of his own, joined by as many belonging to the Nabob, from Arcot, and a body of Sepoys, met the enemy in the field, and were soon defeated and dispersed ; in consequence of which Trivatore was re-taken without farther resistance. In the mean time Mr. Lally himself, with an escort of horse, visited Alamparva, Gingee, Carangoly, Chittapet, and several minor posts, and then came to Vandiwash, where all the detachments had assembled from their different expeditions. Here he was joined by Mr. Bussy, who, leaving the troops which he had brought from the northward to the conduct of Moracin at Nelore, had passed from hence with his private retinue, under the safeguard of a passport granted by the presidency of Madrass. From Vandiwash Mr. Lally detached the Count D'Estaing with a part of the army to re-

1758 duce the fort of Arcot, to whom Timery surrendered in the way without resistance ; and before he arrived at Arcot, Rajahsaheb had succeeded in a negotiation with the Nabob's kellidar to deliver up the fort on an insignificant capitulation. Mr. Lally, thinking that the taking possession of the citadel of the capital would magnify his reputation in the province, resolved to receive the surrender in person, and made his entry into the fort on the 4th of October, under the discharge of all the cannon ; and dispatched orders to Pondicherry and the other French garrisons to proclaim the acquisition with the same ostentation.

The Presidency of Madras saw in these operations nothing but what they expected would have happened immediately after the fall of Fort St. David ; and the preservation of Chinglapet, if in their power, gave them more solicitude, than the abandoning of all the other forts together, which the inferiority of their force had left them no means of preserving. At the request of the renter of Chinglapet, they had sent two companies of Sepoys to guard this fort, whilst his own men with arms were employed in protecting the harvests, and the same number of Sepoys were sent at the same time to garrison Conjeveram. Towards the end of August a lieutenant was appointed to command those in Chinglapet, and carried with him another company. On the 14th of September arrived the company's ship Pitt, of 50 guns : she sailed from England on the 6th of March together with six other, under the convoy of the Grafton of 70, and the Sunderland of 60 guns, coming to reinforce Mr. Pococke's squadron : on board of these ships were embarked 900 men of the king's troops, embodied in a regiment under the command of lieutenant colonel Draper, who with Major Brereton, and 100 of the regiment, arrived and landed from on board the Pitt, but 50 had died on the passage of a contagion, then called the Brest fever, which had passed during the war from the French marine into many English ships. The troops which came in the Pitt, and the expectation that the other ships with the rest would arrive before the change of the monsoon, encouraged the Presidency to send four companies more of Sepoys to Chinglapet : this reinforcement stopped the march of considerable detachment

tachment, which had set out on the 19th from Carangoly to attack 1758 that place, where, immediately after, arrived the two companies of ~~October.~~ Sepoys from Conjeveram, retreating as soon as Tivatore was ~~the~~ ~~October.~~ The garrison, now consisting of nine companies, was deemed almost sufficient to maintain the fort, until relieved from Madrass; and captain Richard Smith was appointed to take the command, and with him were sent two commissioned officers, a serjeant, a corporal, and 12 European gunners, and two field-pieces; so that the whole number of Europeans, including the serjeants of the Sepoys, were thirty chosen men, and captain Smith was ordered to defend the fort at all events and extremities. On the 25th, the squadron commanded by Mr. Pococke anchored in the road, having executed a secret commission which had detained him all this while to the southward, and had given rise to a variety of erroneous reports and conjectures. The Presidency on the 25th of August had finally resolved to recall Major Calliaud from Tritchinopoly, with all the European soldiers and Coffrees in the garrison, excepting such as were in the service of the artillery, or annexed to the Sepoys. Calliaud, just as he was ready to march, received intelligence on the 1st of September, that a very large fleet of English ships were arrived at Ajengo there; which, although doubtful, required him to suspend his departure until more certain advices, which he received on the 5th, and the next day began his march with 180 Europeans and 50 offrees, leaving, according to his instructions, the command of the garrison, in which were now included the 2000 Sepoys brought by Mahomed Issoof from Tinivelly, to captain Joseph Smith. The detachment marching through the Tanjore country met every kind of assistance in their way, and on the 23d embarked from Negapatam on board the squadron, which arrived two days after at Madrass. This reinforcement increased the means of protecting Chinglapet; and four more field-pieces, with a complement of Lascars to work them, were sent thither on the 2d of October.

Mr. Lally at length saw the importance of this place, which, 20 days before, he might have taken by escalade in open day, and resolved to march against it with his whole force as soon as he had settled some

arrange-

1758 arrangements in the government of Arcot, and the adjacent countries.
October. In the mean time his communication with Chinglapet was opened by the possession of Covrepauk and Conjeveram, which his detachments found evacuated. But his late acquisitions had not hitherto reimbursed the expences of the field, nor established his credit to borrow: so that his treasury could barely supply the pay of the soldiers, and could not provide the other means of putting the army in motion, and all that the government of Pondicherry could immediately furnish was 10,000 rupees: pretending therefore much indignation at this disappointment, he distributed the troops into various cantonments, and returned himself, accompanied by Mr. Bussy, to Pondicherry, where as usual he imputed the failure of his intentions against Chinglapet to the mismanagements of the Company's administration. Notwithstanding his deep animosity to Mr. Bussy, respect to the distinguished character of this officer confined Mr. Lally to the observances of public civility; which imposed on no one, as he had still more publickly expressed his real opinions. The rank which Mr. Bussy held at this time was only that of lieutenant colonel; and besides Mr. Soupire, who was a major general, six of the officers arrived from France were colonels, who of course must command him on all services when acting together. The colonels, sensible of the advantages which might be derived from his abilities, and his experience and reputation in the country, and how much the opportunities would be precluded by the present inferiority of his rank, signed a declaration, requesting, on these considerations, that he might be appointed a Brigadier General, in supersession to themselves, which would place him next in command to Mr. Soupire. The public zeal which dictated this request, conferred as much honour on those who made it, as their testimony on Mr. Bussy. Their names, highly worthy of record on this occasion, were mostly of ancient and noble descent; D'Estaing, de Landivisiau, de la Faire, Bretueil, Verdiere, and Crillon. Mr. Lally could make no objection, but with his usual asperity imputed the compliment to the influence of Mr. Bussy's money, instead of his reputation.

The

The approach of the stormy monsoon warned the English squadron 1758 to quit the coast ; and Mr. Pococke, as on all other occasions of consequence, consulted the Presidency on the security of Madrass during his absence. They were of opinion that the enemy, if at all, would not attack the town before the rains had ceased, which generally happens about the end of November, and had no doubt of defending it until reinforcements should arrive, or the squadron return. But as the lateness of the season might deter the ships expected from England from venturing on the coast until the month of January, they requested Mr. Pococke to lend the marines of the squadron ; with which he complied without hesitation. One hundred men were landed, and on the 11th the squadron weighed anchor and sailed for Bombay.

October.

Mr. Moracin, having purposely waited at Nelore until the end of September, then began his march with the detachment left to his care by Mr. Bussy, and was accompanied by Nazeabulla with the troops of his government : proceeding through the woods and mountains of Bangar Yatcham Naigue, they arrived at the Pagoda of Tripetty on the 5th of October, the day on which the great annual feast began ; which lasts 25 days. They were here joined by Abdul-wahab Cawn, with his troops from Chandergherry : they gave no disturbance to the pilgrims, but summoned the renter to dismiss his guards and deliver up the avenues, who, not having a force sufficient to make any effectual opposition, made proposals to rent the revenue of this, and the ensuing feasts, from the French, on the same terms as he had hitherto held them from the English government, and tendered a sum in hand, which Moracin accepted, and confirmed him in the employment. Then leaving a part of his detachment to guard this valuable acquisition, he proceeded on the 16th with the rest and the troops of Nazeabulla, to Arcot, through the country of Bomrauze, who, instead of opposing their passage, paid them a visit. But Abdulwahab, much offended that the management of the pagoda, which had so long been the object of his wishes, was not granted to himself, retired with his troops to Chandergherry. Nazeabulla

and

1758 and Moracin arrived at Arcot on the 12th, and leaving their troops there went on to attend Mr. Lally at Pondicherry.

The desistance of Mr. Lally from marching against Chinglapet after the reduction of Arcot, gave the Presidency of Madrass encouragement and opportunity to strengthen that place more effectually. The partisan Murzafabeg, having, since the French successes, no employment for the troops he had levied, had brought the best of them, 70 horse and 200 Sepoys, to Chinglapet, where they were taken into the company's pay ; and on the 30th of October it was determined to increase the garrison to 100 Europeans, and 1200 Sepoys, to send several pieces of battering cannon, to lay-in three months provisions, and to repair the works. At the same time Captain Smith was recalled to Madrass, to serve in his former employment of aid-de-camp to Colonel Lawrence, and Captain Preston was sent to take the command of Chinglapet, which illness had obliged him to quit. Before his arrival Captain R. Smith had detached Mursafabeg on the 29th, with four companies of Sepoys, and some of the horse, to dislodge a party of the enemy's Sepoys, who had taken post in the village of Polipore, situated about two miles from the other side of the Paliar ; Mursafabeg attacked them at day-break, killed and wounded 20, dispersed the rest, and gathered 60 of their muskets, which they had thrown down in their fight.

The arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry on the 18th, from Mauritius, which brought treasure, together with 100,000 rupees, brought by Mr. Moracin from Tripotti, enabled Mr. Lally to put the French troops into motion again : and, as the symptoms of the rainy season hung back even at the end of the month, parties began to assemble at Carangoly, Salawauk, and Conjeveram, and Mr. Lally himself came from Pondicherry to Vandiwash. On the 2d of November 250 Europeans, 100 troopers, with some black horse and Sepoys, marched from Salawauk, and took post again at Polipore, where they were joined on the 5th by 400 more Europeans, with several pieces of battering cannon, and a mortar : intelligence of which came to Madrass the next day, a few hours after the last convoy of supplies had set out for Chinglapet ; and as the main-

maintenance of this place depended on the arrival of these supplies, it was resolved that 1200 Europeans and 1800 Sepoys, by far the greatest part of the garrison of Madrass, should immediately take the field to cover them; of which one half, under the command of Lieu-enant-colonel Draper, were to advance as far as Vendalore, within 10 miles of Chinglapet; whilst the other, with Colonel Lawrence, were to halt at St. Thomas's mount, ready to support Draper's division: they marched on the 7th in the morning; and the news stopped the French troops at Polipore from crossing the river, and the march of a detachment advancing from Conjeveram under the command of Saubinet, both intending to intercept the convoy; which got safe into Chinglapet on the evening of the ninth. Colonel Draper continued at Vendalore until the 11th, when he received some intelligence of the approach of the whole of the enemy's army, on which he marched back with his division, and joined that with Colonel Lawrence at the mount.

Every day had proved the good effects of re-establishing the possession of Chinglapet: for, under the protection of this barrier, the country behind, which is more extensive than the districts protected by Pondomalee and Tripassour, continued to furnish Madrass with daily supplies of all kinds of provisions and necessaries, by which the stock laid up in store to sustain the impending siege was saved; and to preserve this benefit as long as possible, the troops which had been sent abroad with Draper and Lawrence were ordered to remain encamped at the Mount until the last hour which might endanger the safety of their retreat to the town; after which, as the best of external means to protract the siege when commenced, it was determined to have a body of troops in the field distinct from those already belonging to the garrison, which, if nothing more, were to be continually employed in harassing the enemy's convoys of stores and provisions. Accordingly a contract, which had for some months been under discussion, was concluded with the agent of Morariow for the service of 2000 Morratioe horse, of which 500 were to arrive in 25 days, and the rest in 45; but as no sureties were received, the punctuality of this assistance could not be relied on. The presidency, therefore, as a surer resource, ordered the commandant Ma-

1758 homed Issoof to take the field with 2000 of their own Sepoys from ^{November} the garrison of Tritchinopoly ; and requested the king of Tanjore to join this body with 1000 of his horse, and the Polygar Tondiman, and even the distant Moravars, with the best of their troops ; for whom, however, Mahomed Issoof was not to wait ; and, in case none of these allies arrived in time, he was empowered to enlist 500 good horse if to be found in his march. The Nabob still maintained 300 horse, part of whom attended his person at St. Thomé, and the rest were dispersed in the adjacent districts, who on the receipt of some money joined the army at the Mount ; to which all the Polygars to the northward of Madrass were likewise commanded to send their troops ; but none came : and the Partizan Murzafabeg, having been refused an increase of pay which he demanded in this hour of necessity, went off in the night with his 70 horse and some of his Sepoys, and took service with the French army at Conjeveram.

The troops, of whose approach L.-Colonel Draper had received intelligence, were 500 irregular Sepoys, under the command of an active adventurer named Lambert, with part of the horse levied by Rajahsaheb, who had been sent forward to plunder and terrify the country. They crossed the Paliar, and on the 15th, appeared before Tripassour, and attacked the pettah, but were repulsed at the hedge which surrounds it, with the loss of 20 men, by the Peons of the renter, and the two companies of Sepoys stationed in the fort.

But the French army were not in such readiness as the English imagined to commence the siege of Madrass. All the draught bullocks which Pondicherry had been able to collect were not sufficient to transport one half of the heavy artillery necessary for the attack ; and the greatest part of the train, with many other stores, had been laden a month before on the Harlem taken from the Dutch, which ship sailed across the bay, in order to work to the northward on the other side, when she was to stretch across again and fall in with Masulipatam, where she was to receive more cannon and stores, and then come down the coast to Madrass. The time was elapsed in which a well-sailing vessel might have made this passage, and without news of the Harlem ; and on this disappointment

Mr. Lally

Mr. Lally ordered another store of artillery, which had been deposited at Alamparva, to be shipped on two frigates, the Diligence and the Expedition, which were in the road of Pondicherry, but laden for other voyages; so that it would require a month before they could get this artillery on board, and work up against the wind and current to Madrass. However, the French army might have advanced many days before, if they had not been in want of many other articles, which, although of much more minute detail, were equally of absolute necessity. As soon as these were supplied, the first division moved from Conjeveram on the 19th; but Mr. Lally being very ill, had detained the reserve until the 22d, when the great body of the monsoon rain fell with the utmost violence, and lasted without intermission for three days: the troops abroad, warned by the sky, were on their march back to Conjeveram when the rain began, but nevertheless gained their way with much difficulty and distress, and after it had ceased, the surface of the country continued impassable for several days.

Whilst the collected force of both nations in the Carnatic were thus waiting the impending conflict, each were equally solicitous concerning the success of the armament sent from Bengal into the northern provinces. Mr. Johnstone, who had been sent from Calcutta to concert preparations with the Rajah Anunderauze, arrived on the 12th of September at Vizagapatam, of which the Rajah's officers there immediately put him in possession, as the Company's representative. The Rajah himself was encamped with his forces at Cosimcotah, a fort 20 miles to the west of Vizagapatam, and 15 inland from the sea. His letter to Mr. Johnstone expressed much satisfaction that the English troops were coming, but signified his intention not to furnish any money towards their expences. Tempestuous weather from the south delayed the arrival of the ships and vessels with Colonel Forde until the 20th of October. As soon as the disembarkation was made, two of the Company's ships were sent back to Bengal; but the other, the Hardwicke, and the two sloops, remained to attend the progress of the expedition. The troops moved from Vizagapatam on the 1st of November, and on the third joined

1758
November

1758 the Rajah and his army at Cossimcotah, from whence it was determined to march against Rajahmundry, where Mr. Conflans had collected the French troops from all parts, and they were already advancing to attack the Rajah ; but, on hearing that the English troops were in motion to join him, they halted and encamped.

November Mr. Johnstone had dispatched the sloop in which he came, with advices to Madrass of his reception at Vizagapatam ; on which they immediately sent away Mr. Andrews, with several assistants, to re-establish the factory under their own authority, on which the settlement had always been dependent : They likewise sent Captain Callendar, an officer on the Madrass establishment, to act as second under Colonel Forde. The vessel which brought them arrived at Vizagapatam on the 21st of November ; and Andrews with Callendar immediately went to the camp, which, by long halts and short marches, had not yet advanced 30 miles beyond Cossimcotah. Various excuses were employed by the Rajah to extenuate this delay ; but the real cause was his repugnance to furnish the money which Colonel Forde demanded, who was not a little offended at his evasions. Mr. Andrews, who, having been chief of Madapollam, had long been personally known to the Rajah, adjusted their differences by a treaty, which stipulated, " that all plunder should be equally divided ; that " all the countries which might be conquered should be delivered " to the Rajah, who was to collect the revenues ; but that the sea- " ports and towns at the mouths of the rivers should belong to the " company, with the revenues of the districts annexed to them ; that " no treaty for the disposal or restitution, whether of the Rajah's or " the English possessions, should be made without the consent of " both parties ; that the Rajah should supply 50,000 rupees a month " for the expences of the army, and 6000, to commence from their " arrival at Vizagapatam, for the particular expences of the officers." He held out likewise other proposals of future alliance, which he had not yet authority to ratify..

The united forces now moved in earnest, and on the 3d of December came in sight of the enemy, who were encamped 40 miles on this side of Rajahmundry, in a strong situation which commanded the

the high road, near a village called Gallapool, and in sight of a fort 1758 called Peddipore. They had 500 Europeans, many more pieces of ^{December} cannon than they could use at once, a great number of the troops of the country, of which 500 were horse, and 6000 Sepoys. Of the English force embarked from Bengal, only 30 Europeans and a few Sepoys were wanting, who had been left sick at Vizagapatam ; so that there were in the field 470 Europeans, and 1900 Sepoys. The Rajah had 500 paltry horse, and 5000 foot, some with awkward fire-arms, the rest with pikes and bows : but he had collected 40 Europeans, who managed four field-pieces under the command of Mr. Bristol ; besides which his own troops had some useless cannon. On the 6th, the English and the Rajah's army advanced and took possession of a village called Chambole, on the hig' road likewise, within four miles of the enemy, when each deemed the situation of the other too strong to be attacked : on which Colonel Forde, as the only means to draw the enemy from theirs to a general action, resolved to march round and regain the road to Rajahmundry in their rear, by passing under the hills to their left, where the enemy could not derive much advantage from their horse. The Rajah approved ; and on the 9th, at four in the morning, the English troops were in motion ; but the Rajah's with their usual indolence not prepared to march. Near the foot of the hills, about three miles to the right of the village of Chambole, was another called Condore, to gain which, the English troops having filed from the right, were in march, when, at day-break, they heard a strong cannonade towards the Rajah's camp. It was from 6 guns, which Mr. Conflans, ignorant of Colonel Forde's march, had sent on in the night, under the guidance of an intelligent deserter, who had noticed a spot that bore upon the camp ; and Mr. Conflans was following to support them with his whole army and the rest of his field-artillery. The Rajah sent messages after messages, which met the English troops returning to his relief ; and his own, quickened by the danger, were removing as fast as they could out of the reach of it ; and having, in much confusion, joined the English, continued marching on with them to the village of Condore, where all arrived at eight o'clock. The enemy, although from

1758 from long distances, continued to cannonade whilst any of the
English or the Rajah's troops remained within probable reach.

When arrived at the village of Condore, the army was just as far as before from the French encampment at Gallapole, but with better ground between, and village midway, which would afford a strong advanced post. Mr. Conflans imagined that the English troops had marched from their encampment to Condore, in order from hence to take possession of this village, and in this persuasion crossed the plain to prevent them, with his whole army, and succeeded in his wish without interruption ; for Colonel Forde remained halting at Condore, to regulate his future motions by the enemy's. Mr. Conflans imputed this inaction to a consciousness of inferiority, and now imagined that the English intended to march back to their encampment at Chambole, to prevent which, he formed his line, and advanced in much haste, and little order.

The French battalion of Europeans was in the centre of the line, with 13 field-pieces, divided on their flanks, the horse, 500, were on the left of the battalion ; 3000 Sepoys formed the right wing, and the same number the left, and with each wing were five or six pieces of cumbrous cannon. The English army drew up with their Europeans in the centre, the six field-pieces divided on their flanks ; the 1800 Sepoys were likewise equally divided on the wings. Colonel Forde placed no reliance on the Rajah's infantry or horse, and ordered them to form aloof, and extend on each flank of the Sepoys : all this rabble kept behind, but the renegade Europeans under Bristol, who managed the four field-pieces belonging to the Rajah, advanced, and formed with the division of artillery on the left of the English battalion. The line having had time, were in exact order, and had advanced a mile in front of the village of Condore, during which, the enemy cannonaded hotly from all their guns. At length the impetuosity of the enemy's approach, who came on, out-marching their cannon, obliged the English line to halt for action ; and it chanced that the whole of their battalion stopped near and opposite to a field of Indian corn, which was grown so tall that it entirely intercepted them from the enemy ; but

but the Sepoys on the wings were free in the plain on each hand. 1758
For what reason is not known, Colonel Forde had ordered his Sepoys ^{December} to furl their colours, which, besides the principal flag, are several small banners to a company, and to let them lay on the ground during the action.

The Sepoys and horse of the enemy's wings greatly outstretched the wings of the English line, and came on each in a curve to gain their flanks; the French battalion in the centre, instead of advancing parallel to where by the wings they might judge the centre of the English line would be, inclined obliquely to the right, which brought them beyond the field of Indian corn, opposite to the English Sepoys on the left wing; whom from their red jackets, and the want of their usual banners, they from the first approach mistook for the English battalion; respecting them as such, they halted to dress their ranks before they engaged, and then began to fire in platoons advancing, but at the distance of 200 yards. Nevertheless, this was sufficient; for the Sepoys, seeing themselves attacked without cover by Europeans in front, and the horse and multitude of the enemy's Sepoys, gaining their rear, or coming down on their flank, scarcely preserved courage to give their fire, hurried, scattered, and without command; and then immediately broke, and ran away to shelter themselves in the village of Chambole, and were followed by the nearest of the enemy's horse. This success was greater than even the confidence of the enemy expected; and several platoons of the French battalion were setting off to pursue them likewise, when they saw a line of men with shouldered arms marching fast and firm from behind the field of Indian corn across their way, to occupy the ground which the Sepoys had abandoned.

Colonel Forde had been with the Sepoys before their flight, encouraging them to resolution; but saw, by the usual symptoms of trepidation, that they would not stand the shock, which prepared him to order the judicious movement, which the officers were now performing with so much steadiness and spirit. Captain Adnet commanding on the left, led the line, and as soon as the last files were got clear of the corn, the word was given, when the whole halted,

1758 halted, and faced at once, in full front of the enemy. This motion
December was quickly executed ; for the foremost man had not more than 300 yards to march, and the field-pieces were left behind. During this short interval, the French battalion were endeavouring with much bustle to get into order again ; for some of their platoons had advanced a considerable distance before others ; and thus the fire of the English line commenced before the enemy's was ready ; it was given in divisions, that is, the whole battalion divided into five, and began from Captain Adnet's on the left, which was within pistol shot, and brought down half the enemy's grenadiers ; the fire ran on, and before the time came for Adnet's division to repeat theirs, the whole of the enemy's line were in confusion, and went about running fast to regain their guns, which they had left half a mile behind them on the plain.

The ardour of the English battalion to pursue was so great, that Colonel Forde judged it best to indulge it in the instant, although not certain of the success of the Sepoys on the right, but concluding that the enemy's Sepoys who were to attack them, would not continue long, if they saw their Europeans completely routed. The order was given for the battalion to march on in following divisions, the left leading. Nothing could repress their eagerness. All marched too fast to keep their rank, excepting the fourth division commanded by Captain Yorke, who to have a reserve for the whole battalion, if broken, as the enemy had been, by their own impetuosity, obliged his men to advance in strict order. The French battalion rallied at their guns which were 13 in number, spread in different brigades, or sets as they chanced to stand when left by the troops advancing to the action. This artillery began to fire as soon as the ground was clear of their own troops, and killed some men, which only quickened the approach of the divisions to close in with the guns, of which several fired when the first division was within pistol shot, and Adnet fell mortally wounded ; but his men rushing on drove the enemy from the guns they attacked, and the other divisions following with the same spirit, obliged them to abandon all the others.

The day, if not completely victorious, was at least secured from reverse by the possession of all the enemy's field artillery fit

for quick firing ; but their camp, to which they were retiring, still 1758 remained to be attacked ; and Colonel Forde halted until joined by ^{December} his Sepoys, and, if they would come, by the Rajah's troops.

The Sepoys and horse of the enemy's right wing were in their turn panick-struck by the fire of the English battalion routing their own, and all turned to gain the rear of the guns, keeping aloof to the left of the English divisions ; and then went off again with the French battalion to the camp. Their left wing of Sepoys behaved better, advancing to the use of musketry against the English Sepoys of the left, with whom the battalion, when filing off to oppose the French, left the three field-pieces of their right ; and the Sepoys, encouraged by this assistance, the ardour of the Europeans marching off, and the spirit of their own commander Captain Knox, maintained their ground, facing and firing in various directions behind the banks of the rice fields, in which they had drawn up. The enemy's wing nevertheless continued the distant fire, until they saw their battalion of Europeans quitting their guns, and the Sepoys and horse of the right retreating with them to the camp ; when they went off likewise ; stretching round to the left of the English battalion halting at the guns, and keeping out of their reach. Captain Knox then advanced to join the battalion with his own Sepoys, and the six field-pieces, and had collected most of the fugitives of the other wing. Messages had been continually sent to the Rajah's horse to advance, but they could not be prevailed upon to quit the shelter of a large tank, at this time dry, in which they, his foot, and himself in the midst of them, had remained cowering from the beginning of the action.

As soon as the Sepoys joined, and all the necessary dispositions were made, which took an hour, Colonel Forde advanced to attack the enemy's camp ; but, not to retard the march, left the field-pieces to follow. A deep hollow way passed along the skirt of the camp, behind which appeared a considerable number of Europeans regularly drawn up, as if to defend the passage of the hollow way, and several shot were fired from heavy cannon planted to defend the approach. Just as the English troops came near, and the first division of the Europeans stept out to give their fire, the

1758 field-pieces were arrived within shot ; on which all the enemy went ~~to~~ to the right-about, abandoned their camp, and retreated, seemingly December every man as he listed, in the utmost confusion ; but the English battalion crossing after them, many threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners. Mr. Conflans had previously sent away four of the smallest field-pieces ; and the money of the military chest, laden for expedition on two camels. The spoil of the field and camp was 30 pieces of cannon, most of which were brass ; 50 tumbrels, and other carriages laden with ammunition ; seven mortars from thirteen to eight inches, with a large provision of shells ; 1000 draught bullocks, and all the tents of the French battalion. Three of their officers were killed in the field, and three died of their wounds the same evening ; 70 of their rank and file were likewise killed, or mortally wounded : six officers and 50 rank and file were taken prisoners, and the same number of wounded were supposed to have escaped. Of the English battalion, Captain Adnet and 15 rank and file, were killed ; Mr. Macguire, the pay-master, and Mr. Johnstone, the commissary, who joined the grenadiers, two officers, and 20 of the rank and file, were wounded ; the Sepoys had 100 killed and more wounded. No victory could be more complete. Mr. Conflans, the commander of the French army, changing horses, arrived on the full gallop at Rajahmundry before midnight, although the distance is 40 miles from the field on which the battle was lost ; the troops took various routs, but most of them towards Rajahmundry.

The cavalry of Anunderau~~xx~~ although incapable of fighting, were very active as scouts to observe the flying enemy, and the concurrence of their reports determined Colonel Forde to send forward 500 Sepoys, which in the army were ranked the first battalion of these troops, under the command of Captain Knox. They were in march at five in the afternoon. The next day intelligence was received that many of the enemy's Europeans, and some of their black fugitives, had stopped at Rajahmundry ; on which 1000 more Sepoys were sent to join those with Captain Knox ; and the whole, now 1500, arrived there at break of day on the 10th.

This city, the capital of the province, is situated on the ¹⁷⁵⁸ eastern bank of the Godaveri, 40 miles from the sea. In the middle of the town, ^{December} and near the river, stands a large fort, with mud walls of little defence. The French troops, having lost all their best cannon, would not trust to those in the fort, and report had represented the English Sepoys as the whole army, the Rajah's and all, in full pursuit ; and in this persuasion they had begun to cross the river at midnight. Fifteen Europeans, with all the stores, baggage, and bullocks, which had escaped from the battle, had not yet embarked, and were immediately seized ; a boat loaded with many more Europeans was in the stream ; and four small field-pieces, with a thirteen-inch mortar of brass taken out of the fort, had just reached the other shore when the English Sepoys arrived, who fired for half an hour, as well with their muskets as from the cannon of the fort, upon the boat and the opposite shore, which deterred the enemy from carrying off the field-pieces and mortar, or from remaining near them ; and a party of Sepoys crossing the river in boats, brought them back the same day without molestation : a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, laid up for the French army, was taken in the fort.

Colonel Forde, with the rest of the English forces, arrived at Raghmundrum the next day ; but the Rajah, with his, remained at Peddipoor, performing the ceremony of burying the few of his people which had chanced to be killed by the straggling shot of the fight. The Hardwicke, and the two sloops, were at anchor on the coast some leagues above the field of battle, which is about 10 miles from the sea ; and the day after the victory they sailed to cruize on the enemy's vessels between Masulipatam and their factories on the Godaveri : and a few days after the ship Thames was dispatched from Vizagapatam, fully laden with provisions, to Madrass.

The delay of every day which had retarded Mr. Lally from advancing ^Tagainst Madrass was an advantage gained ; Captain Joseph Smith commanding in Tritchinopoly, as soon as he received the orders of the Presidency, equipped 2000 Sepoys from his garrison, and delivered them, with two small field-pieces, to the command of Mahomed Issoof, who crossed the Coleroon with this force on the

1758 21st of November, without waiting for the troops of the allies,
 December whose assistance the Presidency had requested. The polygar Tondi-
 man gave assurances, and was really collecting some, but the Mo-
 raver had returned no answer, and the king of Tanjore had express-
 ed himself in such equivocal terms, that the Presidency resolved to
 send Major Calliaud, in whom the king had confidence, to convince
 him of the impolicy of his indifference: accordingly this officer
 embarked on the 30th in a common massoolah, intending to land
 at Tranquebar.

The French army moved again from Conjeveram on the 29th of November, advancing on the high road towards Madrass: but a large detachment, under the command of Mr. Souprie, proceeded along the bank of the Paliar, with orders to halt between the river and Chinglapet. On the same day the partizan Lambert, with his troops and two small field-pieces, attacked the pettah of Pondomalee, which the Ensign, Crowley, attempted to defend, but was driven into the fort with the loss of 30 or 40 of his Sepoys killed and wounded, and two of their serjeants, Europeans, were made prisoners. On the 4th of December, Mr. Lally reconnoitred the fort of Chinglapet in person, within musket-shot; and, contrary to the sound rules of war, and perhaps his own conviction, determined to leave it in his rear. On the 7th, the whole army halted at Vendaloor, and Lambert's party appeared in sight of the Mount, where the English army had been reinforced with 400 more Europeans from the town, being all that remained, excepting the invalids and artillery: 300 had been posted, a mile and half in the rear of the main camp, at Sidapet or the little Mount, to guard the bridge and ford over the river of St. Thomé; but on the night after the appearance of Lambert's party, these troops were sent back to the town, and the same number were detached to supply their place from the camp; for Colonel Lawrence had no intention to risk a general action. In the afternoon of the 9th, a considerable body of the enemy appeared in sight of the Mount; but Mr. Lally had left his camp standing at Vendaloor, of which Colonel Lawrence received intelligence, and regarded this appearance of not moving far from it, as a feint to cover the intention of

a forced

a forced march in the night, higher up, across the river of St. Thomé, which might bring the French army before morning between the English camp and Madrass, and cut off their retreat to the town: he therefore immediately struck his tents, and marched back with the whole army to the Choultry plain.

1758
December

The ground so called commenceth about 2000 yards south-west of the white town of Madrass, or Fort St. George, from which it is separated by two rivers. The one, called the river of Triplicane, winding from the west, gains the sea about a thousand yards to the south of the glacis. The other coming from the north-west, passeth near the western side of the black town, the extremity of which is high ground, which the river rounds, and continues to the east, until within 100 yards of the sea, where it washeth the foot of the glacis, and then turning to the south continueth parallel with the beach, until it joins the mouth and bar of the river of Triplicane. From the turning of the river at the high ground, a canal, striking to the south, communicates with the river of Triplicane. The low ground included by the channels of the two rivers and the canal, is called the island, which is about 3000 yards in circumference. 1200 yards from the strand of the sea is a long bridge leading from the island over the Triplicane river, to a road which continues south to the town of St. Thomé. Another bridge over the canal, leads to the west, and amongst others to a village called Egmore, from which this bridge takes its name. Coming from the south or west, these two bridges afford the only convenient access to the fort or white town, excepting another along the strand of the sea, when the bar of the Triplicane river is choked with sand. All the ground between the St. Thomé road and the sea is filled with villages and enclosures; and so is that on the left, for half a mile towards the Choultry plain, from which a road and several smaller passages lead through them to the St. Thomé Road.

It was neither the intention of the Presidency, nor of Colonel Lawrence himself, to risk the army on the Choultry plain, more than they had at the Mount; for a defeat in the field was the certain loss of Madrass, as the enemy in their superiority had 300 European

horse,

1758 horse, excellently mounted and disciplined; the greatest number ^{December} which had hitherto appeared together in India. The intention was to gain time, for every day was precious; and not to dispirit the troops, who were to sustain the impending siege, and might have made sinister reflections if they had been hastily led back within the walls, before their own understandings were convinced of the necessity. The ground and the advantages which were taken of it by Colonel Lawrence, secured their retreat, when it should become necessary.

The Choultry plain extends two miles to the west of the enclosures which bound the St. Thomé road, and terminates on the other side at a large body of water called the Meliapore Tank, behind which runs with deep windings, the Triplicane river. The road from the Mount passes two miles and a half under the mound of the tank, and at its issue into the Choultry plain, was a kind of defile, formed by the mound on one hand, and buildings with thick enclosures on the other. Colonel Lawrence, retreating from the Mount, halted and remained during that and the next day, which was the 10th, opposite to this defile. On the 11th he cut through the mound of the tank, which swamped the whole length of the road, and then retreated to the other extremity of the plain, close to the enclosures nearest the Triplicane river. In this situation his field-pieces commanded the road leading across the plain to that part of the enclosures through which this road continues to that of St. Thomé, which from the junction continues straight to the bridge of Triplicane. Three companies of Sepoys were advanced in front on the left, to a choultry standing at the skirt of the plain, where the road enters the enclosures.

The French army remained at the Mount during the 11th, but marched before day-break on the 12th; and at sun-rise all their European cavalry, having taken a circuit to the south of the plain, appeared at the choultry so unexpectedly, that the Sepoys scarcely staid to give their first fire, and ran into the enclosures on their left, through which they gained the main body. The cavalry, thinking themselves secured by a small grove, which was in the rear of the choultry.

choultry, drew up in the front of it, but were immediately annoyed by 1758 the advanced field-pieces ; of which, several shot made way through the trees and killed three troopers ; on which, all galloped away to the St. Thomé road, intending, it should seem, to push to Triplicane-bridge, and then either continue on the island, or advance along the strand of the river in the rear of the English army ; but opposite to the governor's garden, 500 yards from the bridge, they found the road stockaded across, as well as the lane on the left, along the garden-wall, by which they might likewise have come round ; and in these two posts were three companies of Sepoys, with two guns ; and the St. Thomé road, for a long way, had no other issue to the left. The first fire from the stockades drove the cavalry up the road until out of reach.

Mean while the main body of the French army appeared issuing from along the mound of the Meliapore tank, and advanced along the road, which was here between an avenue of trees, cannonading at intervals from some of their field-pieces : they were answered without intermission by six from the English line, until their van were half through the avenue, and within 1000 yards, when Colonel Lawrence ordered the retreat. The line marched off their ground by the right, and passing a village called Chindadrapettah, crossed the river of Triplicane, where it was forable without difficulty ; they then continued round two or three hamlets to the Egmore bridge, which leads over the canal into the Island. Here they halted some time to receive a guard of 30 Europeans posted in a redoubt at Egmore, in which was the powder-mill of the garrison. As soon as this party joined, the whole army crossed the bridge, and after some detachments of Europeans and Sepoys had been draughted and sent to defend the passes of the black town, the rest of the army marched into the fort. Mr. Lally gave no interruption to the retreat, probably because he suspected some stratagems. Three Europeans were killed in the cannonade, but the French lost 10, and as many wounded.

At the same time that the main body of the French army were advancing to the Choultry plain, their irregular Sepoys with Lambert

December

1758 bert had proceeded along the south side of the St. Thomé river, in
 December order to attack a redoubt situated on the side of it near the sea.
 The guard was only one company of Sepoys, who, getting intelligence in time, retreated along the beach and arrived safe in the garrison.

As soon as Colonel Lawrence came into the fort, the council of the Presidency assembled, and by an unanimous vote committed the defence of the siege to the governor Mr. Pigot, recommending to him to consult Colonel Lawrence on all occasions, and on extraordinary emergencies to assemble a council of the superior officers of the garrison. The French army immediately encamped on the ground which the English had quitted, but sent a detachment across the Triplicane river, which took post in the redoubt at Egmore.

As the French army were advancing from the Mount, 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, had been sent off under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Murphy, against Pondamallee. They arrived at noon, and Murphy summoned Ensign Crowley, with threats, as resisting in an untenable post, although the fort was of stone, and surrounded by a wet ditch. On Crowley's refusal, the twelve-pounders were employed until night, when 20 of the French detachment had been killed or wounded, and little damage had been done to the wall; but the Sepoys within, expecting neither succour nor quarter, began to waver; on which, Crowley marched with them out of the fort in deep silence at midnight, and passing where he was apprized the enemy kept slight watch, got out of reach before they were ready to pursue; and, knowing the country, came in the next morning by the north of the black town. The number was 500, in five companies, of which three were the garrison of Pondamallee, and two had retreated hither from the fort of Tripassore.

Their arrival brought in the last of the troops, stationed in distant out-posts, and completed the force with which Madrass was to sustain the siege. The roll of the European military, including the officers with 64 topasses, and 89 coffrees incorporated in the companies

nies, amounted to 1758 men. The Sepoys were 2220. Of the 1758 Europeans 24 were troopers mounted. The Nabob's horse were, ^{December} 200; but, from experience, very little service was expected from them. The European inhabitants not military were 150 men, and they were appropriated without distinction to serve out stores and provisions to the garrison. The native boatmen, who alone can ply across the surf, had been retained by special encouragements, and their huts, with their massoolas or boats, extended under the wall next the sea, where it was supposed not a shot was likely to fall. The Nabob, with his family and attendants, had come into the fort on the day that the army retreated from the Mount; but although lodged in one of the best houses, were much straitened for want of the room and conveniences to which they had been accustomed.

The French army continued on the other side of the Triplicane river during the day they arrived from the Mount, and all the next; but at two in the morning of the 14th were in motion, and having passed the river where the English had crossed, proceeded at the back of Egmore to the village of Viparee, which is about a mile to the north-west of that post, and from whence a good road leads nearly west to the northern part of the black town. Parts of the ancient sound hedge, and the ruins of some guard-houses, still remained along the north and west sides of the black town; and, with the channel of the northern river, rendered the greatest part of the western side very defensible: but on the side facing the north, were many gaps, too open to be maintained. The army, having advanced to the ford across which the road from Viparee leads into the town fired their field-pieces before them, which the guards returned with their musketry, but the Sepoys only with one fire, and then ran away. The Europeans, nevertheless, defended the ford, and several other accesses on either hand, until they perceived that several parties of the enemy had entered on the north side; when all retreated as fast as they could to the fort, and none were intercepted. In the skirmishes, three of them had been killed; but of the enemy, eleven. Soon after, the whole of the French army ap-

1758 ^{December} peared in the southern parts of the town, where the streets opened upon the esplanade of the fort. The regiment of Lally took up their quarters near the beach of the sea. Lorrain, with the battalion of India, on the rising ground to the west; but both behind buildings which screened them from the fire of the ramparts. A multitude of the natives, with the usual despondency of their character, had remained in their habitations until the last hour, and now came pouring upon the glacis, imploring admittance into the covered way, but were refused, and advised, to make their escape as well as they could in the night; several spies and two or three deserters came mingled amongst them, who reported that the French troops were all employed in ransacking the houses, and that they had discovered several warehouses filled with arrack, with which most of them had already got drunk; and such as were perceived from the town, appeared staggering under their loads and liquor; on which it was resolved to make a strong sally before they should have time to recover themselves.

Five hundred of the best men were draughted, and given to the command of Lieutenant-colonel Draper, who suggested the design; and 100 with Major Brereton were to follow a little while after, as a covering party. At eleven o'clock Draper's detachment marched out of the western ravelin; two companies of grenadiers led the line, but the two field-pieces were in the rear. Their way was first, 300 yards straight on to the west, where a bridge crosses a stagnated arm of the river that communicates with the western ditch of the fort. This bridge gives access to and from the black town by the ascent of the rising ground, and is laid pointing to the N. W. the ascent begins almost as soon as you have crossed the bridge, and the road to the top continues about 300 yards in that direction, when it turns into a long street of Indian houses, which runs nearly north and south, and is crossed by several others on either hand. Such was the negligence and security of the French army, that they did not perceive the approach of the detachment, until apprized by a mistake of the English drummers, most of whom being black boys, began to beat the grenadiers march as soon as they entered the street:

on

on which the whole line from one end to the other set up their huzza ; 1758
but even on this warning the enemy did not look out with sufficient December
attention to be certified in which street the detachment was advancing,
but drew up at the head of another, which ran parallel to it, about
100 yards on the left ; in which they advanced 2 or 3 platoons
about 50 yards lower down, at the opening of a cross-street which
gave a straight communication between the two : the English troops
marching on did not receive a shot until they came opposite to this ad-
vanced guard, which then fired, and with execution, for the distance
was point blank : the first of the line returned the fire, but being the
company of grenadiers halted no longer than this operation, and
then proceeded ; for Draper, knowing how near, and where the
enemy's main body were drawn up, would not stop the line, but
stationed two platoons from the succeeding companies to continue
the fire, and prevent the enemy from breaking through the street.
He at the same time ordered the two field-pieces to advance from the
rear to the front, and the troops marching in whole files opened to
the right and left to let them pass ; but before they were brought
up, the grenadiers and some more had pushed on to the head
of the long street, in which they were marching. This was
terminated by another much broader that crossed it, coming on the
right from the esplanade of the fort to the east, and continued 100
yards on the other hand to the west of the long street, where the
cross-street turned to the north and then again to the west. In that
part of the cross-street to the left appeared the regiment of Lorrain,
with four field-pieces, drawn up facing the south, opposite to the
street in which they had posted their advanced guard, and were ex-
pecting the English troops ; to whom in this position they presented
their flank quite naked. Beyond them, in the continuation of the
street, after it has turned to the north, the battalion of India, which
comprised the troops belonging to the French company, were as-
sembling. Not a moment was lost in taking the advantage ; the
grenadiers, and as many more as the breadth of the street, which
was here 50 yards, would admit, faced and fired ; but had scarcely
ime to give a second, before the two field-pieces came up. In that
part of the cross-street where the English troops had faced, and in

1758 front of their left, almost adjoining to the long street they had
~~December~~ passed through, lay the ruins of a demolished house, which spread
more than half-way over the cross-street, and although not high
enough to prevent a single rank of musketry from firing over the
rubbish, did not admit the field-pieces, which were therefore drawn
up to the right of the rubbish, and the troops which had stood
there made room for them, by crowding along the adjoining walls
on that side of the cross-street. These alterations created some con-
fusion; for they were made with much hurry from the ardour of
setting the field-pieces to work; which did not disappoint the expec-
tation, but firing with grape knocked down numbers. Lorrain
scarcely stood a minute before all the men ran into the opposite
houses; and all the officers could do was to turn the field-pieces,
which the gunners likewise abandoned after the very first discharge.
Draper immediately commanded his own firing to cease, and the
grenadiers to follow him to the enemy's guns, to which he ran, and
fired a pistol, but without effect, at an officer who remained by them,
which the officer having returned with as little, offered to surrender
himself and the guns, when Draper perceived that he had been fol-
lowed by only four grenadiers. In the same instant, many of the
French soldiers, encouraged by the ceasing of the English fire, and
the backwardness of the men to advance with Draper, gathered
again in the street, and began to fire; by which two of the grena-
diers were killed, and the other two wounded before they got
back to their own men, and Draper returned with them. Now the
field-pieces and musketry on both sides commenced the hottest fire;
but with increasing havoc from the enemy, whose numbers were
augmented every moment by the battalion of India; and many of
the English soldiers began in their turn to take shelter in the nearest
houses and enclosures. Nevertheless, the brunt of this fight con-
tinued 20 minutes, when Draper convinced that no success was to
be expected, and that the arrival of Lally's regiment from the sea-
side might cut off the whole detachment, ordered the retreat; but
not a single drummer was found to beat it. The grenadiers of the
Company's troops, not having room to be employed in the cross-
street

street occupied by other platoons and the field-pieces, had gone into a large enclosure on the side of the street opposite to the rubbish ; and as well as the others who had taken shelter in houses on the right were not apprized of the retreat : all who were marched huddled together down the cross-street, which opened in less than 300 yards upon the esplanade, and under the protection of the guns of the fort ; but the enemy followed so close, and their fire both of cannon and musketry became so superior, that the two field-pieces in the rear of the detachment were abandoned ; and the enemy's divisions had advanced to the enclosure in which the grenadiers had taken refuge, before they had thought of marching out. They were offered quarter, which they accepted, because they could make no effectual resistance, although they were eighty, the prime men of the garrison. During the fight in the western part of the black town, the regiment of Lally towards the sea were with much difficulty got under arms by Mr. Bussy ; for most of the common men were reeling drunk. However, they had advanced, sheltered by houses from the fire of the fort, until they came within 300 yards of the street in which the English were retreating, and arrived there just as the line were coming out of it upon the esplanade, when the interval between them was open to the fire of the fort ; the fear of which, and the mistrust of their intoxicated men, deterred the officers from leading them on to the fair attack before them ; and they only fired random musketry, and from two field-pieces ill-pointed at Draper's line, who, as soon as out of the street, turned short to the south, and proceeded on the lower ground under the houses which skirted the west face of the esplanade, until they came opposite to the north-west angle of the glacis, and met in the way the covering party with Major Brereton, which had advanced and was waiting for them in good order : the nearer the line came to the fort, the greater became their hurry to get into it, for many ran over the glacis ; but all the officers, with as many men as they could keep together, marched in order to the entrance on the eastern face of the north ravelin. *No officer, excepting Lieutenant Billock, was killed on the spot ; but Major Polier, Captain Hume, and Ensign Chace,

1758 Chace, were mortally wounded : Polier came into the fort, but the ^{December} other two were taken. Captain Pascall and Lieutenant Elliot were shot through the body ; Lieutenants Stephen Smith and Blair, and Ensign Cook, were wounded and taken ; but recovered. Of rank and file 103 were taken, of whom 19 were wounded : fifty came in wounded, and fifty were left dead abroad, of whom all did not fall in the open action, for more than 20 were found killed in different houses, mostly stabbed with bayonets, and with their antagonists lying dead beside them ; so that the garrison lost the lives or service of more than 200 soldiers and six officers by this sally. The French acknowledged 200 of their rank and file killed and wounded ; and had 12 officers wounded, Saubinet mortally, and three killed on the spot ; they lost only four prisoners, of whom one was the Count D'Estaing ; his quarters were with Lally's regiment near the beach, and on the first firing he mounted his horse, and came galloping down the cross-street to the rear of the English grenadiers, whom, being short-sighted, or perhaps not seeing at all through the smoke, he took for French troops, nor perceived his mistake until within a few yards, when his horse stumbling, threw him, and before he could recover himself, he was seized by two drummers, who had their swords drawn to stab him, when Lieutenant Smith, the same who was afterwards taken prisoner himself, stepped between : his consequence being known, he was immediately sent away with an officer and a file of men to the fort. Mr. Lally blamed excessively his own regiment for not marching on the first fire, which had they done, and the troops been less intoxicated, it is probable that very few of the English detachment would have escaped. He endeavoured to fix the fault on Mr. Bussy, who justified himself by the delay of Mr. Lally's orders, without which, according to the regulations of the service, the regiment could not march ; and then Bussy led them. Mr. Lally regretted exceedingly the loss of Saubinet and the Count D'Estaing, and with reason ; for the one possessed all the qualities of an able general, and the other of an active partizan.

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Very few cases permit a strong sally from the garrison at the 1758 opening of a siege ; the present was in some measure justified by the ^{December} supposition that the enemy's troops were intoxicated and in confusion : but, notwithstanding the ardour of the onset, it left no advantageous impression of the firmness of the garrison with the French officers ; and Murphy, one of the most experienced, proposed that a general assault should be made on the town in the ensuing night, in four divisions, and offered to lead the principal attack himself. It was lucky for them that his advice was not followed.

The next day the French army began to prepare their batteries, but in situations concealed by houses from the view of the ramparts ; however, the motions to and fro left little doubt where they were at work, and shells as well as shot were fired at intervals throughout the day to interrupt them ; although sparingly, except when certain of effect ; and this prudent thrift was observed throughout all the days ; until they opened their batteries : but their artillery which had embarked for the siege was still at a distance at sea, and on the day of the sally a party of four companies of Sepoys, detached with Lieutenant Airey by Captain Preston from Chinglapet, took the only 13 inch mortar, which was coming by land : it was escorted by 150 Sepoys ; they were intercepted and defeated between Sadrass and Cobelong ; but Airey, having no bullocks to draw off the mortar, ruined it as well as he could, and left it on the road.

Intelligence had been received that one of the vessels which had been laden with artillery at Alamparva, was detained at anchor off the point of Conimere, about 15 miles to the South of Sadrass, by the contrary wind and current ; and a Dutch snow being in the road of Madrass, it was resolved to equip and employ her to attack the French vessel ; accordingly 20 sailors belonging to the squadron, who had been lately exchanged, and 40 of the marines left by Mr. Pococke, were sent on board under the command of a naval officer of experience ; but just as he was going to weigh, the sailors refused to serve, pretending that they knew the French ship was much too strong for them ; on which they were relanded on the 10th, and the attempt was relinquished.

. The

1758 The experience of the very few days that the fort had been invested, had convinced the Nabob of the increasing inconveniences which he and his family would suffer by continuing in it through the siege; and the garrison still more wished to be freed from the useless consumption and embarrassment of his retinue, which consisted of 400 men, with 200 horses, besides o'her cattle, who, nevertheless, could not decently be dismissed whilst he remained. It was therefore resolved, with mutual satisfaction, that he should proceed by sea with his wife, women, and children, and their immediate attendants, on board the Dutch snow, which was to land them at the Dutch settlement of Negapatam; from whence, being in the Tanjore country, they might proceed securely to Tritchinopoly. They embarked, attended by one of the council, on the night of the 20th, and before morning were out of sight; the Nabob's dependents were then told, that they might provide for their own safety, and in a few nights most of them quitted the town. 18204

On the 16th at night, a sally was made to the north by 40 Europeans, and as many Sepoys; but they were discovered before they got clear of the glacis, and returned without firing. Two sallies were made on the night of the 19th; the one by 20 Europeans and 30 Sepoys, under the command of Ensign Bonjour, who proceeded to the northward under the beach to the first houses beyond the esplanade, when some of the Sepoys cried out they saw horse, and giving a scattering fire took flight, which obliged the Europeans, after giving theirs, to retreat likewise; but before they were out of reach, they received the enemy's, by which one was killed and two wounded. The other sally was of 1000 Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul Saheb, to the southward; they were to beat up a guard posted at the garden-house, and then proceed to St. Thomé, in order to seize a piece of battering cannon which was waiting there for bullocks, under the escort of a company of Sepoys: they marched over the Triplicane-bridge, but had scarcely got into the St. Thomé Road, when they received a fire from the first enclosure on the left, which threw the whole body into a panick, and all, excepting

cepting 30 or 40 returned into the fort, and none of them had received a wound.

1758

December

On the 21st another detachment of 1000 Sepoys with 20 Europeans sallied at 10 o'clock in the day, under the conduct of Lieutenant Balantyne and Ensign Crowley, in order to beat up a party with 2 guns which were reported to be posted at the pagoda in the village of Triplicane about a mile to the south of the fort. They crossed the bar of the Triplicane river, and proceeded, driving several small Sepoy guards before them to the pagoda; where, not finding either the party or the guns they were seeking, they turned into the St. Thomé road, and crossing it, marched along the other road, which leads to the Choultry-plain, intending to attack the enemy's guards on the outside of the enclosures near the village of Chindadrepettah; but before they arrived on the plain 300 Europeans were reported advancing from Triplicane river, on which the detachment marched back to the bridge, and returned by the strand of the river to the bar, where a company of grenadiers were waiting to cover their retreat. Whilst this detachment was abroad, two pieces of battering cannon, drawn by a great many bullocks and Coolies, were perceived crossing from the village of Chindadrepettah to the s. w. towards the black town, and being within random shot of the western bastions several cannon were fired upon them, which, soon stopt the bullocks and Coolies, and one of the guns sunk to the axel-tree in the mud; upon which 300 Sepoys, encouraged by the promise of a reward, marched with Jemaul Saheb to spike up these guns: on their appearance the drivers cast off and hurried away the bullocks, and the Coolies ran away; but before the Sepoys got to the bridge, which leads to Egmore, 2100 European horse, followed by some infantry, appeared advancing from the camp in the black town; on which the party was recalled into the fort.

On the 17th, all the English prisoners, that had been taken at the sally were sent away for Pondicherry. They were 100, and were escorted by 150 of the European horse, 40 European foot, and 500 Sepoys. They moved slowly, and proceeded towards Sadrass, by the road near the sea shore, which passeth by Cobelong, where they were

1758 halting on the 19th. Captain Preston, zealous to recover the prisoners, marched in the night of the 19th, with the greatest part of the garrison of Chinglapet, to intercept them. His party was only 80 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and two field-pieces. They crossed the country, and halted at 10 o'clock next day six miles to the south of Sadrass. A channel of 20 miles in length extends from Cobelong to within three miles of Sadrass, and has at each extremity an opening to the sea, from which it receives its water, and at times enough to overflow the country a mile a-cross, in which state it was at present. Besides the road leading from Cobelong to Sadrass along the sea shore, there is another within the inundation, and Preston remaining where he had halted sent half his force over the water with lieutenant Airey, to wait for the enemy on the other road; two hours after appeared a body of 400 Sepoys, within some black horse, whom Preston kept at a distance and dispersed; and in the evening, Airey's party returned without any tidings of the escort, which had passed on to Sadrass before he crossed the water, on which Preston marched back to his garrison, where he arrived the next day.

The commandant Mahomed Issoof, after having been detained three days at Outatore by the rains, arrived on the 29th of November at Thiagar, where he was joined by the killidar, Kistnarow, with 250 horse, and 1000 foot: and Mahomed Issoof himself had enlisted 100 horse on the road. Their forces marched on the first of December, and invested Elavanasore, which stands ten miles to the west of Thiagar. There were in the fort two companies of Sepoys belonging to the French, with a lieutenant, Dumesnil, and three other Europeans, a serjeant, and two gunners, and two field-pieces: this garrison defended themselves until the close of the evening, when they surrendered. Fifty of the Sepoys took service with Mahomed Issoof; the rest were disarmed and permitted to go where they pleased, but the four Europeans were sent to Tritchinopoly: some stores and ammunition were found in the fort. The next day Kistnarow went away with his own troops to get plunder, and on the 7th burnt a village in sight of Fort St. David; but Mahomed Issoof did not move until the 5th, when he proceeded to Tricolore,

a fortified pagoda, ten miles to the north of Elavanasore. On the 6th, he was joined by 200 horse, 1500 Colleries, and 250 Peons sent by the Polygar Tondimari, and the day after attacked the pagoda, in which were three companies of Sepoys, who defended it with much activity until eight at night, when they offered to surrender provided they were permitted to march away with their arms and effects ; and having already killed 15 and wounded 55 of Mahomed Issoof's troops, he accepted their terms ; and then following the track of Kistnarow marched to the eastward, spreading his army to ravage the country, all of which, as far as the sea, paid revenue to the French. On the 15th they appeared at Villenore, within sight of Pondicherry, and brought so much terror, that the inhabitants of the adjacent villages took shelter in crowds within the bound hedge. On the 18th they cut the mound of the great tank at Valdoor, and let out the water to destroy the cultivations it was reserved to fertilize. The sword was little used, but fire every where, and the cattle were driven away to Tricaloor. Mr. Lally on hearing of these devastations, sent word to Mr. Pigot that he would retaliate, by putting men, women, and children to the sword in the territory about Madrass ; he however forbore to execute the threat. On the 21st Mahomed Issoof was joined by 300 horse from Tanjore, not furnished by the king, but hired there with his permission, by Mahomed Issoof's agents ; on the same day Kistnarow returned with all his troops to Thiagar. The next, Mahomed Issoof began his march from Villaporum to the northward, still continuing his ravages. Rajahsaheb, with a considerable body of horse, had been for some time at Conjeveram, waiting to protect those districts from his excursions, and on his approach crossed the Paliar, and advanced to Salavauck, as seemingly with intention to give him battle ; but on better intelligence of his force, took shelter under the guns of Vandiwash. Lambert was also on the other side of the Paliar with 400 Sepoys, 25 Europeans, and two guns, but on the same information marched round and stopt at two days distance in his rear. On the 25th Mahomed Issoof with his army joined Captain Preston at Chinglapet.

On

1758 On the 22d the Harlem, so long expected by the enemy, anchored in the evening at Onore, three leagues to the north of the black town. ^{December} The next day, the Thames, laden with all kinds of provisions, arrived in the road from Vizagapatam ; the wind was high, and the ship had but two anchors, and in the next forenoon parted from that by which she was riding, before one that was coming from the shore on a catamaran could reach her ; and the Harlem getting under weigh from Onore at the same time, she stood out to sea, intending to regain the road in the evening, but before night was driven out of sight to leeward. She brought the news of the victory gained by Colonel Forde at Pedipore over the French troops with Mr. Conflans, which the fort announced to the enemy by 21 guns pointed upon their quarters from the northern bastions, and the fire of the whole garrison drawn up in the covered way. The next day the Harlem stopped and seized a vessel trading from the northward, laden with 1000 bags of rice, of which the French camp was much in want. The artillery brought by the Harlem was not sufficient to supply the intended batteries ; but several cannon and mortars unladen from the Diligent and Expedition at Alamparvah, and brought in boats from thence to St. Thomé, passed every day from this place to the camp in the black town, and generally across the plain of Egmore, within sight of the fort ; but since the sally of the Sepoys on the 21st, the escorts were too strong to be attacked by any parties which the garrison could with prudence risk at that distance. But the stock of gun-powder necessary for the batteries was not yet completed ; for this was brought the whole way from Pondicherry or Alamparvah, by land ; and, for the want of bullocks, with much delay.

The commandant Mahomed Issoof on his arrival at Chinglapet dispatched the greatest part of his horse, which were now near 1000, to ravage and destroy the country about Conjeveram, from which the French government drew revenues, and their army before Madrass, provisions. On the 27th, he marched himself with his infantry, intending according to instructions he had received from Mr. Pigot, to surprize the French troops which were quartered in the town

town of St. Thomé ; but Captain Preston thinking this a hazardous enterprize, resolved to participate in it, and accompanied him with 80 Europeans, two field-pieces, and six companies of Sepoys, from his garrison. They arrived at the Mount on the 29th, and were rejoined the same day by the horse from Conjeveram : during the ensuing night, a detachment of 500 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 600 Sepoys, and 800 black horse, marched from the black town and other posts, under the command of Mr. Soupire, and at day-break the next morning had passed the village of Sidapet, and were within sight of the Mount before their approach was known ; however, the activity of Preston and Mahomed Issoof stopt the effects of the surprize, and in a few minutes the troops from both their camps were in march : the enemy halted and began to cannonade, which was returned and continued until 11 o'clock, when Captain Preston seeing an advantage, made a push with the Chinglapet troops, and seized two of their guns, whilst Mahomed Issoof with his, kept the main body at bay and prevented them from making an effort to rescue them ; however, the enemy retreated in good order to Sidapet ; for the greatest part of Mahomed Issoof's cavalry were, if possible, worse than the black horse with the French, and few of either ventured within arm's length of each other. Fifteen of the French Europeans, with some of their Sepoys and horses, were left dead on the plain, but they carried away their wounded, of whom fifteen were troopers ; most of this execution was done by the field-pieces ; the Chinglapet troops lost only one European but several Sepoys ; and more of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys with some of his horsemen, were killed and wounded ; both Preston's and Mahomed Issoof's divisions continued at the Mount.

At break of day the next morning, 1000 Sepoys, with the troop of horse, sallied from the garrison of Fort St. George by the southern gate, in order to beat up the guards at the bar of the river, the garden-house, and the village of Triplicane, which they effected without opposition ; they likewise intercepted a tappy or letter-carrier, coming with many to the French army, which gave information of the arrival of a vessel at Pondicherry from the island of Mauritius with 70 chests of silver. This day

1759 day closed the year. Mr. Lally intended to open the next with ^{January.} his first fire against the fort; but the preparations to equip a large detachment intended to attack the troops with Preston and Mahomed Issoof, deferred the battery to the 2d of January.

The French, whilst in possession of Fort St. George, after taken by Labourdonnais, had made several improvements and additions to the slight works they found, which nevertheless, rendered the fort little capable of long resistance against the regular approaches of an European enemy; nor had they given any extention to the internal area, which did not exceed 15 acres of ground. Nevertheless, the English let the place remain in the state they received it from the French in 1751, until the beginning of the year 1756; when the expectation of another war with that nation, and the reports of the great preparations making in France against India, dictated the necessity of rendering it completely defensible. Accordingly all the Coolies, labourers, and tank diggers, which the adjacent country could supply, were from this time constantly employed on the fortifications: their daily number generally amounted to 4000 men, women, and children, who had continued on the works until lately driven away by the approach of the French army from Conjeveram.

An addition had been projected in the year 1743 by the engineer Mr. Smith, father of Captain Joseph Smith, which included as much ground as the former area of the fort: the ditch which marked its limits was then dug and faced with brick, and was supplied with water by a communication with the northern river, which at that time ran along the foot of the ancient wall to the west; but on account of the expence, nothing was then raised above the surface, and the naked ditch remained when De Labourdonnais came before the town, neither an obstruction nor an advantage to his attack. It was in the same condition in 1756, when the new works were resolved on; and the plan of Mr. Smith having been approved by Mr. Robins, the fortifications, on this side were raised in conformity to that projection. To join the new rampart with the old bastion to the s. w. and to gain the ground in the new area which was occupied by the river, its bed was filled up, beginning from the s. w. bastion, with earth dug from the edge of the rising ground of the black

black town to the north-west, which the excavation removed 40 yards 1759 farther from the works: but only two-thirds of the bed of the river ^{January.} under the old wall had been choked up. The river, stopped in its former channel, was directed in another, which environed the west and part of the south face of the new works, washing in some places the foot of the glacis, until it rejoined its former bed at the head of the spit of sand. The old wall of the western side still remained as a retrenchment to capitulate on, in case the outward should be carried. The new extention on this side comprised three large bastions and their out-works. The southern of these three bastions communicated with the old bastion, which stood before on the s. w. angle, by the curtain raised across the former channel of the river; and this curtain increased the south face of the fort from 130 to 210 yards. Nevertheless, the works on this side were much less defensible than those to the west and north; but the surface of water and quagmire in the river before it, rendered this front inaccessible, excepting by the labours of a much greater army, than the present attack. The ground on the north of the fort gave the besieger much more advantage than on the other side; and this face was therefore strengthened in proportion: the two former bastions and rampart, as improved and left by the French, were suffered to remain; but the ditch and glacis which they had dug and raised, were, the one filled up, and the other removed further out, to admit better works. In the front of the N. W. bastion was raised another capable of mounting 28 guns; each of the faces were 100 yards in length, and a battalion might be drawn up on its rampart, although a large vacancy was left in the gorge, or back part, to increase the interval towards the former bastion behind, which this was intended to cover: it was, from its superior strength, called the royal bastion. A demi bastion, corresponding with the royal, was raised before the old N. E. bastion, that stood on the beach of the sea, which, however, the demi bastion did not entirely envelop; for its right hand or east face extending in a line parallel to the sea, adjoining to the shoulder angle of the northern face of the old bastion, leaving this face free to fire forward, but confining the extent of ground it commanded to the same width as the space between the east face of the demi bastion and the sea.

1759 sea : to the westward, the old bastion had two guns clear of the demi
~~bastion~~
^{January.} bastion, which supplied the defence on this side by four guns in the flank and seven in its northern face. The two new bastions communicated with each other by a broad faussebray that passed along the foot of the old rampart and bastions ; this faussebray was defended by a stout parapet seven feet high, which adjoined to the flanks of the new bastions. The ditch on this front was dry, because the ground here was seven feet higher than the level of the canal which supplied the ditches to the west and south : but a cuvette or trench, seven feet deep and 25 feet broad, was dug the whole length of the ditch, which before the faussebray was 180 feet wide, and before the bastions, ninety. The covered way of this front was broad and well palisaded, and contained between the two bastions a large ravelin capable of 18 guns, nine in each of its faces. The glacis was excellent, and little was wanting to complete the defences on this side, excepting mines, which the want of time and bricklayers had not allowed. The western face had likewise its covered-way palisaded, and glacis, and contained three ravelins, of which that in the middle was the largest. The eastern face extended along the beach of the sea within twenty yards of the surf ; but ships could not approach near enough to batter it with any effect ; and no guns could be brought to bear upon it by land. Before the sea gate, which stands in the middle of the curtain, was a battery of 13 guns ; fifty yards on the right of this battery was a platform of old standing, with 14 guns to return salutes, which had hitherto been left without a parapet : the original curtain, although nothing more than a brick wall four feet thick, had never been strengthened ; but a trench, six feet deep and 10 wide had lately been dug before it ; and a ditch, with palisadoes, was intended to have been carried round the battery and the platform, but had not been executed at either. The only danger on this side was from a sudden assault or surprize, which could rarely come by boats landing unawares across the surf ; but always, and with ease, by a body of men passing on the edge of it by either of the bastions at the extremities ; to prevent which, a row of anchors, backed by palisades, and a trench

trench were extended from the neck of each bastion quite into the surf. No buildings, excepting sheds, had been raised in the new ground taken into the westward ; and in those of the old, the bomb-proof lodgments were not sufficient for the security of the garrison.

1759

January.

The first appearance of any work done by the enemy, had been discerned in the morning of the 18th of December, when Lally's regiment had completed a breast-work close to the sea, 580 yards from the covered way ; it was sheltered by houses on the right, but open in front to a direct fire from the north-east and demi bastions : from this breast-work they continued a trench by two zig-zags 180 yards nearer the fort, which brought the trench 40 yards upon the esplanade : here they began a battery intended for many guns, which extended from the beach, parallel to the same fire as the breast-work, and behind this battery, on the right, they raised another for six mortars, which they completed by the end of the month ; but the constant fire of the fort had retarded their work and prevented them from opening any embrasures in the battery for the cannon, because they had not enough ready for this, and another battery of six guns, which the regiment of Lorrain had on their side completed at the opening of a street on the rising ground to the westward, which enfiladed the face of the royal bastion, and the covered way before it : behind this battery were two mortars imprudently sheltered by the rubbish of houses, which had been demolished for the purpose. The garrison called this the Lorrain, and the other by the sea, Lally's battery.

At break of day, on the 2d of January, the Lorrain battery began to fire both its cannon and mortars, which were soon followed by four thirteen-inch mortars from Lally's, which threw their shells in volleys all together. The fort returned with shells as well as shot upon the Lorrain battery with 11 guns, four on the west face of the Royal, five on the flank of the Demi, and two on the west flank of the old north-east bastion : this superiority in less than an hour dismounted two of the Lorrain guns, and obliged them to withdraw the other four ; but against the mortars, either here or at Lally's,

1759 the fire of the defences could have little effect, excepting by luck, since
January. they were concealed and defended, as usual, by a high and strong
 parapet: this annoyance, therefore, continued until seven in the
 evening, during which time only 80 shells had been thrown from
 both, all of which fell about the middle of the inhabited part of the
 fort, where stood the government house, against which they seemed
 to have been aimed, and two went through the upper roof: much
 mischief was also done to the adjoining buildings; but not a single
 person was either killed or wounded by their fall or explosions, nor
 had any one suffered by the cannon shot of the morning.

As soon as the night closed, several of the principal European
 women, with their children, were sent away in three massoolah
 boats, to reside under the protection of the Dutch settlement at Sa-
 drass; they had not been gone two hours before intelligence was re-
 ceived from Captain Preston, that a French detachment had sur-
 prized the fort of Sadrass, taken possession of the town, and made
 the garrison and all the Dutch inhabitants prisoners; but it was too
 late to recal the Massoolahs. Another letter from Preston, which
 came in the morning, gave information of an action which he had
 sustained the day before.

The town of St. Thomé was become a post of great consequence
 to the French army. The remains of an ancient ditch and bad
 ground round most parts of the town, with the river and the
 English redoubt to the south, secured it from surprize, unless at-
 tempted by very superior numbers. They accordingly made the
 town the station of their boats, as well as the temporary repository
 of their convoys coming by land, and had likewise established in it
 one of the hospitals of their camp: but the junction of Mahomed
 Issoof's troops, with Preston's, rendered the maintenance of the
 town an object of much greater doubt and solicitude, than when it
 was only exposed to sallies from the garrison of Fort St. George;
 and the body of French troops which had engaged Preston and Ma-
 homed Issoof at the Mount on the 30th of December retreated im-
 mediately after the action to St. Thomé. The day after the ac-
 tion Preston received intelligence that the partizan, Lambert, was

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advancing

advancing from the south, with a large quantity of stores and a strong escort; on which he moved from the Mount, in order to intercept them, and encamped at Trivambore, which is a village with a pagoda, situated two miles to the south of St. Thomé, and one from the sea shore. He was followed by the troops of Mahomed Issoof; it having been agreed, in order to prevent jealousies as well as confusion, that the two commands should move and encamp in separate bodies. The troops of Mahomed Issoof consisted of 3500 foot, 500 horse, with three bad field-pieces; they encamped to the north of the village, and extended almost to the sea, with their front towards St. Thomé. Captain Preston, with his division, which consisted of 600 Sepoys, with 80 Europeans, and two brass three-pounders, pitched their tents to the south, looking out for Laubert towards Sadrass. Mr. Lally, apprehensive that they intended to attack St. Thomé, increased the European infantry there to 500 rank and file, and the European horse to 150. Mr. Soupirc commanded, and leaving all the black troops, whether horse or Sepoys, marched at three in the morning with the Europeans only, who were 650 horse and foot, and without field-pieces. Half an hour before day they fell on the camp of Mahomed Issoof, which had gained no warning of their approach. The surprize and confusion was so great, that Mahomed Issoof himself escaped at the back of his tent, and his troops fled every way under the enemy's fire, which lasted 15 minutes without interruption; during which Preston turned out his line, and sent forward his piquets to discover, who returned without perceiving any signs of troops to the south; at the same time the crowd of fugitives shewed that the enemy were in possession of Mahomed Issoof's camp, and Preston, judging that their order must have been much broken by the onset, the action, the darkness, and the interruptions spread over the ground, immediately resolved to attack them; and marching with his whole division at the back of the village to the westward, came on the flank of Mahomed Issoof's camp, almost as soon as his approach was discovered; where the French troops, thinking they had routed all their enemies, were collecting the plunder;

1759 der; nor could the officers recal them to any order, before the fire
 of Preston's division, led by his two field-pieces loaded with grape,
 scoured through the camp, and his musketry was augmented by the
 return of the best of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys. Nevertheless, some
 of the enemy in different parties endeavoured to rally; but, having
 no strong or collected fire to return, they fell, the more they ven-
 tured to make resistance, and all at length broke in confusion; but,
 when at some distance, the officers prevailed on them to stop, and
 they marched off in order. They had got possession of the two field-
 pieces, of Mahomed Issoof's division, but did not tarry to draw them
 off. Thirty-six of their Europeans were counted dead; of whom
 one was a captain, and another a lieutenant. Of the English troops
 in both actions two Europeans were killed and six wounded; of the
 Sepoys 60, and 121: but only three of the black cavalry, and
 five horses were killed. On a review at three o'clock in the after-
 noon, only 700 of Mahomed Issoof's Sepoys were numbered; all
 the rest of his troops, cavalry, Colleries, and Sepoys, on a supposi-
 tion that Preston's division had been as easily routed as themselves,
 fled across the country, nor thought themselves safe before they got
 under the guns of Chinglapet; and, according to their example,
 the market-people ran away with their bullocks and provisions, of
 which there was not sufficient for one meal left in the camp; and
 this want obliged the troops which remained to march away the same
 evening with the appearance of defeat, as far as Vendaloor, in order
 to meet a supply from Chinglapet.

The superior fire of the fort in the morning determined the enemy
 to wait until they could renew the attack with less disproportion
 On the 4th a small sloop laden with stores and ammunition worked
 through the road and anchored near the Harlem, and massoolas had
 every day passed between St. Thomè, and the black town. At day-
 break on the 6th, a volley of six mortars were thrown from Lally's
 battery, as a signal of preparation, and they were the first, either shot
 or shell, which the enemy had fired since their mortars ceased on the
 evening of the 2d, although the fort had constantly fired both to in-
 terrupt their work. At sun-rise they commenced a regular cannon-
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ade and bombardment, which consisted of seven guns and six large 1759 mortars from Lally's, and seven guns, with a howitz, from the Lorrain battery, with the two mortars in this quarter, which, however, fired but seldom. Although the Lorrain battery fired only from seven embrasures, it had been augmented to ten, of which the additional four were in a return, or extending from an angle to the left of the other six, and bore upon Pigot's, the next bastion on the west front to the left of the royal. The enemy's fire, both of shot and shells, was directed more against the buildings than against the works. The fort returned on Lally's battery 11 guns, from the old north-east bastion, the north ravelin, and the royal bastion. Against the Lorrain battery, likewise, eleven guns, four from the royal bastion, two from the north-west curtain near Pigot's bastion, and three from the centre ravelin called St. George's on the west: but more guns bore upon the batteries, if it had been necessary to use them.

January

The enemy's mortars continued through the night, and were reined in the morning by the cannon of the preceding day, and two more, from a battery intended for four, which was raised on the esplanade, adjoining to the west-side of the burying-ground, about 100 yards to the west of Lally's battery, and almost in the perpendicular of the N. W. or salient angle of the royal bastion, from which it was distant 450 yards. The two guns, now opened in the burying ground, bore upon the west face of the north ravelin and on the west flank of the old N. E. bastion. The enemy's cannon still continuing to point high, did little damage to the works, but the buildings, much damaged before, suffered greatly by the fall of their shells. At the twilight of the next day, the 8th of the month, the three massoolas which had been sent with the English women to Sadrass, landed at the fort. The French being in possession of Sadrass, had seized these boats, laden them with 50 barrels of gunpowder, and several other military stores, and sent them with the same boatmen guarded by a French soldier in each, to their own army in the black town. At four in the morning when opposite to the fort, each of the soldiers had fallen fast asleep, on which the boatmen concerted in their own language with

1759 the certainty of not being understood, although overheard ; and having first poured water into the firelocks, overpowered and bound the soldiers, and then landed the boats at the sea gate. This uncommon instance of fidelity and spirit in men, who are deemed a mean and outcast race, was rewarded and encouraged by paying them immediately the full value of the gunpowder and stores.

January.

The enemy's mortars renewed at midnight, and at day-break their cannon, with two pieces more, mounted in the battery at the burying ground. In the afternoon they set fire to a warehouse near the s. e. bastion, full of saltpetre and brimstone, which could not be extinguished for several hours ; during which the enemy plied the spot, where the black column of smoke arose, with shells and plunging shot, which did no damage. Lieutenant Brooke, a diligent officer in the artillery, was killed by a cannon ball in the demi-bastion. The enemy's ship *Diligent*, reladen with artillery and all kind of stores, anchored in the morning off the black town, having been 30 days in working along the coast from Alamparva, although the straight distance is not 60 miles.

The same fire, but more frequent on both sides, continued on the 9th, the enemy's mortars still against the buildings ; but their cannon, which in the two preceding days had only silenced two guns, in this disabled or dismounted five, and two mortars. In the night, besides the usual repairs, five embrasures were cut through the glacis of the salient angle before the demi-bastion, pointing obliquely against Lally's battery, and guns were mounted in them ; but Lally's, nevertheless, dismounted two guns on the demi-bastion the next day ; and on the 11th all the five towards the land on the old n. e. bastion were disabled by this and the Lorrain battery. Early this morning the enemy likewise opened two more guns in a ricochet battery intended for four, which they had raised near the English hospital, on the rising ground fronting the centre ravelin on the west side of the fort, against which, however, it was not intended to fire, but to enfilade the royal bastion : it likewise bore upon part of the north-west curtain towards Pigot's. Notwithstanding this battery stood at a much greater distance from the fort, than any of the other three, it was more exposed than either

of

of them to a sally ; for none of the guns had embrasures, but fired, 1759
plunging over the parapet, and the guard might be beaten up, and the
guns spiked, before succour could arrive from the nearest of the
enemy's quarters : aware of this they had carried on a trench, from
the end of the street through which Draper had marched to the foot
of the bridge, which crossed the ground fronting the battery, and
a picquet guard was constantly kept in the trench, ready to give
the alarm. They had likewise began a breast-work at the bar of
the Triplicane river to the south, in order to annoy the black people
and cattle, which were sheltered on the spit of sand at the foot of
the glacis on this side ; and as many inconveniences would ensue
from their dispersion, it was resolved to drive the enemy from the
break-work.

Accordingly a detachment of 200 Europeans, of which half were
grenadiers, and 400 Sepoys, marched under the command of Major
Brereton, between four and five in the morning, whilst it was still
dark : when arrived at the bar they received a fire from some Sepoys
posted behind the unfinished parapet, which killed one and
wounded two of the grenadiers ; but, as the Sepoys immediately dis-
appeared, the fire was not returned, and the detachment proceeded
through the coco-nut groves to the left, without meeting any other
opposition, until they came into the lane which leads into the St.
Thomé road, along the garden wall of the governor's house, when
a trooper, sent forward, discovered a party of the enemy drawn up
at the end of the lane, with a field-piece. On this intelligence the
advanced guard of grenadiers marched up briskly, fired, and push-
ing on, received the discharge of the gun loaded with grape, as well
as the musketry that supported it, by which five of them were
wounded, and Lieutenant Robson mortally : the rest, nevertheless,
seized the gun before the enemy had time to fire it again, who took
shelter in a house and garden on their right, from whence their fire
killed three Sepoys and wounded two, with an European, before they
were dislodged. It was yet scarcely twilight, and as the grenadiers
were drawing off the gun, Jemaul Saheb, the commandant of the Sepoys,
who had been prying in the St. Thomé Road, discovered another

gun

1759 gun a little below the garden-house, and appearing jealous of the honour, was permitted to seize and bring it off with a party of ^{January.} Sepoys only, which they effected without receiving any return to their first fire. The detachment marched back the same way they had come, and arrived in the fort at sun-rise with the two guns, and five European prisoners, one of whom was an officer severely wounded. Previous to this, two other, but slight sallies had been made ; the one to the n. w. bridge, which fired into the enemy's trench before the hospital battery : the other, to disturb the workmen in the zig-zags to the northward ; this party advanced to the head of the work, killed a sentinel, and brought away two or three muskets, without any loss. The enemy's mortars slackened this day, but the fire of their cannon continued with as much vivacity as before, and disabled four guns, which as usual were replaced before the next morning.

By this time it was evident that the enemy intended to direct the stress of their attack against the two northern bastions, which dictated the necessity of securing them with additional defences : accordingly a palisade was begun in the ditch on the hither side of the cuvette, to extend quite round the demi bastion ; a blind, or rampart of earth, at 30 yards distance, in the ditch before the n. e. bastion ; and a fascine battery of six guns, on the strand between the east curtain and the sea, a little in the rear of the shoulder angle of this bastion. Early the next morning, which was the 13th, a shell from the fort set fire to some huts behind Lally's battery, which spreading, caught a magazine, and blew it up, with a number of loaded bombs : no fire passed this day either from or against the n. e. or demi bastions ; and no gun was dismounted in any part of the fort ; but the enemy doubled the number of their workmen in the zig-zag, who were interrupted as much as possible by what fire bore upon them from the royal bastion, the north ravelin, and the embrasures of the salient angle before the demi bastion ; in the night the enemy fired with a field-piece loaded with grape, from the head of their works, on a small party posted near this angle, under the cover of a boat, and wounded three of them, on which the rest retired into the covered-way.

In the morning of the 14th, the enemy, opened a battery of three mortars between Lally's and the burying-ground, but in the rear of both, and concealed by the houses between them, from the sight of the fort : their fire this day disabled a mortar and two guns : during the night a constant fire of musketry from the covered-way, and of cannon and mortars from the works of the north front, was kept up against the enemy's approaches, and retarded their progress. On the 15th, they had 10 guns mounted in Lally's, and kept up through the day a fire from 21, besides their 11 mortars as before : but Lally's guns did all the mischief to the works, dismounting two guns in the demi, and two in the north-east bastion, and their shot, which flew over, took in flank the three other batteries towards the sea, and dismounted two guns on the sea-gate battery, two on the saluting battery, and one on the s. e. or St. Thomas bastion, in all eleven : the fire on the trenches continued through the night, from which the enemy, nevertheless, detached a picquet, which drove in the party posted on the salient angle of the glacis.

The enemy's cannonade continued on the 16th, with the addition of two guns on Lally's battery, which now fired with 12, all 24 or 18 pounders, to which the fort could only oppose the direct fire of six of equal weight, which were from the north-east and demi bastions; for the guns in the salient angle of the glacis, and in the fascine battery on the ground below, were of inferior calibres ; and as it was constantly necessary to employ many men in reinstating the damages of the demi bastion, a traverse was raised to preserve the guns in its flank from the enfilading fire of Lally's; and whilst this and other work was doing, the three embrasures of its face to the right, which were open to the shot of Lally's, were kept closed until the next day ; so that no guns in this bastion were either fired against, or dismounted by that battery; which having the more to use against the other works disabled one on the north-east, and obliged the garrison to withdraw the five guns in the salient angle of the glacis; and as the trenches were now advanced within 50 yards, these embrasures were filled up, and the earth levelled again to the general slope of the glacis. At 11 at night a sally was made from St. George's or the west ravelin

1759
January.

1759 to fire into the trench extending before the hospital battery; but ^{January.} the guard there taking the alarm in time, 50 men advanced across the bridge leading to it, and after a fire given and returned, drove the party back into the covered-way. Another sally of 12 Europeans was made at one in the morning, under the command of Ensign Barnes, against the head of the enemy's trenches, into which they gave their fire, and finding only five or six men in it, advanced, until a relief, of 40 or 50 came up from the rear, who drove them back, and before they regained the covered-way, Ensign Barnes, with two of the soldiers, were killed. Before and after this sally, a constant fire, as in the preceding nights, was kept up until morning on the enemy's workmen; who, notwithstanding these interruptions, advanced the sap above 20 yards.

Even the garrison acknowledged the activity of the enemy's progress, and frequent letters had been dispatched, enjoining Captain Preston and Mahomed Issoof to approach, and interrupt their operations; but these officers were no longer masters of their own. Retreating after the action at Trivambore, they arrived at Vandalore on the 3d, where they found some provisions. Preston's division was unimpaired; of Mahomed Issoof's, most of the Tritchinopoly Sepoys, and 150 of the new-levied horse, had rejoined the rest of those who had fled to Chinglapet, who were the 1500 Colleries and 500 horse sent by Tondiman, the 300 horse from Tanjore, and the same number of his own levies; and all these troops refused to march back from Chinglapet to Vandalore. The kind of warfare for which they were intended, and only fit, rendered their desertion in the present conjuncture of too much consequence to be neglected: and after several ineffectual messages, the two commanders marched on the 6th from Vandalore, and joined them at Chinglapet. On expostulation, the cavalry in general pleaded with much complaint, the loss, although owing to their own cowardice, of their baggage and effects at Trivambore, and little less than declared, that they had not engaged in the service, with the expectation of exposing their horses against Europeans, but were willing to act in their usual moaes; which Preston rightly interpreted plunder; and to gratify their wishes,

wishes, consented to march with them into the French districts ¹⁷⁵⁹ around Conjeveram, in which they continued several days employed ^{January.} in plunder and ravage ; and no shelter grounds protected the cattle from the search of the Colleries. On the 13th, Preston thinking they had been sufficiently indulged with booty, began his march back from Conjeveram, intending to come again in sight of Madrass ; but on the first halt, all the troops which he had endeavoured with so much complacence to conciliate, Colleries as well as cavalry left him and crossed the Paliar. This second desertion left no doubt of their inutility, and Preston resolved not to act with them any longer, even if they should return of their own accord ; but as the horse of Rajahsaheb, who were 800, and the European cavalry of the French army, rendered it impossible for the infantry of both the English commands, although many, if unsupported by horse, to continue near enough to harass the enemy's camp, without more risk to themselves, Preston resolved to march to Arcot, in order to collect a body of better cavalry, of which he heard several parties were waiting ready to take service on the western confines of the province. Mr. Pigot received intelligence of this motion and its motives on the 16th of the month, but concealed it, as every other which might dispirit the garrison.

The enemy's fire continuing the same on the 17th as the day before, dismounted three guns and a mortar. Ever since the ninth of the month, two ships had been seen off St. Thomé which had every day weighed anchor, endeavouring to get to the northward, but were constantly stemmed by the current from gaining ground ; but this evening they passed the road, and joined the three other vessels off the black town. They were the Expedition, laden with artillery and stores, which had left Pondicherry on the 12th of December ; and the Bristol of 30 guns, manned with Europeans, which had lately arrived there from Persia, and was immediately laden with shot and shells for the camp.

On the morning of the 18th the enemy had completed three more embrasures in Lally's battery, which joining the former on the

1759 left, reached almost to the surf, and being a little turned to the January. S. W. bore upon the north ravelin, which before night was much impaired by them. Nevertheless, the general fire from the north was diminished, for these new embrasures in Lally's were supplied with three guns from other embrasures of the same battery ; and the four in the Lorrain, which bore upon the royal bastion, ceased entirely, and their embrasures were filled up ; but Lally's and the burying-ground disabled two guns in the demi bastion, two in the north ravelin, a mortar in the royal, and rendered the three northern embrasures of the N. E. bastion unfit for service. A party of the enemy had been employed through the day in raising a breastwork at a little distance to the left behind their former post at the bar, and began to fire from it at dusk with two field-pieces in barbet against some Sepoys posted on the spit of sand : their mortars continued firing vehemently through the day and night, but, as from the beginning of the bombardment, still against the inside of the fort. Every day one, two, or three of the garrison, and sometimes more, had suffered by the fire ; but on this day five Europeans and three Sepoys were killed, and five of each wounded. Notwithstanding a constant fire of cannon and small arms, wheresoever probable, through the night, the enemy advanced their zig-zag across the foot of the salient angle of the glacis, inclining a little to the left towards the surf ; and being so near, the governor issued instructions to the officers of the different posts, how to conduct themselves and dispose their parties in case they should assault the out-works.

The next day, which was the 19th, the enemy changed their two field-pieces to the south for two eighteen-pounders, from which they fired shot into the fort : in the forenoon their musketry in the advanced or second crochet had fired smartly upon the north ravelin and the covered-way ; their mortars continued incessantly through the day, and set fire to three buildings in different parts of the fort at once, but ceased in the night : during which they only produced their third zig-zag obliquely from the ridge of the glacis to the water-mark of the sea, which was not more than 15 yards. The next day, which was the

the 20th, they fired none of the four guns on Lally's battery, which 1759 bore on the north-east bastion ; but continued with the seven bearing ^{January.} on the demi bastion, and the three on the north ravelin, although more sparingly than usual, but those in the burying-ground battery with more vivacity : a platform on the demi bastion, and a mortar on the north ravelin were ruined by shells : five Europeans were killed ; and seven, with three Sepoys, wounded. During the night, they threw few shot or shells, and made but little advance in their approaches, but enlarged their second crochet, and worked hard in erecting a battery, which projected from it along their last or third zig-zag leading to the crochet which terminated this zig-zag on the glacis. Two small sallies were made upon the trenches during the night, in both of which only one European was killed.

On the 21st the enemy's batteries remained almost silent, but the musketry in their trenches fired briskly on all they saw moving. At five in the evening, a serjeant and ten men went out by a sallyport in the east curtain, and an officer with 20 by the barrier in the north-east angle of the covered-way, who were followed by 40 pioneers with their captain : the soldiers advanced to the second crochet, which was only 30 yards from the foot of the glacis ; out of which their first fire drove all the troops, who were mostly Sepoys : after which they maintained the crochet for 10 minutes before the guard of the trenches arrived ; and during this time the pioneers worked hard in destroying the gabions, and what other materials were collected for the construction of the intended battery : the sally was pre-ceded and followed by a fire of mortars, cannon, and small arms from the fort, upon all whom the alarm brought within sight and reach ; and it was supposed with much effect ; two serjeants were killed, and five of the pioneers wounded ; in the fort one European and one Sepoy were killed, and a ten inch mortar disabled. In the night the enemy worked hard in thickening the crochet out of which they had been driven ; completed their third zig-zag, which extended 100 yards beyond it, mostly on the glacis, but inclining to the left of the salient angle ; and not only began, but finished their

third

1759 third crochet, which extended to the right from the head of this zig-zag across the ridge of the glacis : they threw few mortars during the night, but mostly into the works ; their cannon slackened likewise the ensuing day, which was the 22d, and especially from Lally's battery, in which most of the embrasures were blinded ; nevertheless, the few employed were very effectual, for the repeated repairs, which had been made in the demi and north-east bastions, rendered the substituted merlons so weak that they crumbled to every shot : a twelve-pounder was disabled on the north ravelin by a shell, three Europeans and a Sepoy were killed, and seven with nine Sepoys wounded. In the night the enemy pushed on the sap of the fourth zig-zag 20 yards beyond their third crochet, and having made a small return or shoulder to the left, continued it from hence quite up to the salient angle of the covered way, and fixed some gabions on the crest of the glacis on the right hand of this angle ; the contest was now brought very near the walls, and was disputed without intermission : the whole progress of the fourth zig-zag was exposed to the fire of the stockade of palmyra trees which the garrison had planted across the east side of the glacis to the surf, and from this stockade the guard kept up a constant fire of musketry on the enemy's workmen, as did another guard from the salient angle of the glacis ; and parties of grenadiers were sent out every hour along the beach beyond the stockade to fire upon the third crochet, and all the sap advanced beyond it ; cannon, mortars, and musketry, were likewise fired throughout the night from every part that bore upon their work ; but could not stop it, for the enemy had increased the number both of their workmen and guards ; they likewise finished their battery at the end of their third zig-zag, which shouldered on their second crochet, and opened it the next morning, which was the 23d, with four guns ; but it was so ill constructed, that only one of the guns could be brought to bear upon the north ravelin, which it was intended to batter. The Lorrain battery remained closed, but the hospital, the burying-ground, and Lally's, with the mortars as before, continued a slackening fire, the cannon only in the day, but the mortars through the night likewise. The ammunition of both began

began to wax scant, and they were waiting for more which had 1759 been embarked on the 14th in a brigantine from Pondicherry. How-
ever, their fire disabled a twenty-four-pounder on the royal bastion, and completed the ruin of all the embrasures on the right face of the ravelin; in which a shot from Lally's penetrated quite through the merlon: in the night, the enemy attempted to push their gabions close to the covered way of the N. E. salient angle, from whence pioneers were sent to overset them, who rolled some into the sea, and pulled others into the covered-way; this contest was maintained at repetitions for three or four hours, and supported by the hottest fire of musketry, and of grape shot from the north-east bastion, and the fascine battery on the beach: 70 discharges were made out of one of the guns: five Europeans were killed and ten wounded in the night and day, most of whom suffered in these attacks: one Sepoy was likewise killed, and six wounded: on the 24th, a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the north-east bastion, of which the works had scarcely received in the night a repair adequate to the detriment of the preceding day: but six of the embrasures in the north ravelin were restored; the other three still remained unfit for service.

At seven in the evening, a party of the enemy, consisting of 50 men, who had waited for the dark, advanced from the nearest crochet to the stockade, from which the guard, which consisted only of 12 men, ran away to the blind before the N. E. bastion; they were immediately sent back with the addition of a more resolute serjeant and ten grenadiers; but were scarcely returned, when this serjeant was shot dead through the stockade; on which the party stopped, waiting for directions; and the officer commanding at the blind recalled them; after which it was thought imprudent to make another attempt to recover the stockade, although capable of giving much annoyance to the enemy's work.

At night, a messenger from Tritchinopoly brought a letter from Captain Joseph Smith, with intelligence he had received from Angengo. The Presidency ten days before had received advices from Mr. Pococke, that the squadron had arrived on the 10th of December at Bombay, where he found six of the company's ships and

1759 and two of the line, with 600 men of Draper's regiment on board; January. which were arrived there a few days before, having passed the Cape of Good Hope too late in the season to gain the coast of Coromandel; the letter from Captain Smith gave intelligence that the company's ships, with all the troops on board, had sailed under the convoy of two frigates from Bombay on the 31st: and the spies which came in from the enemy's camp reported that this news was likewise known there, and had determined Mr. Lally to make a general assault on the fort this very night; on which the whole garrison and all the inhabitants were stationed and remained under arms at their respective posts until the morning.

The fire of the cannon, musketry, and mortars, from the fort, although maintained constantly throughout the night, did not prevent the enemy from advancing their sap along the glacis, on the east face of the covered-way, as far as the left of the stockade, and they made a return on the right to the crest of the glacis; but had not time to extend the sap to the left, along the front of the stockade towards the surf, nor even to complete a proper lodgment in the return, the want of which left their workmen exposed to the fire of the covered-way; but on the other side of the salient angle they had raised gabions, and made considerable progress in a retrenchment intended for a battery.

The night passed without any alarms of the supposed assault; and the ensuing day, which was the 25th, continued with the usual fire of cannon and Mortars until two in the afternoon, when a sally was made by the guard at the blind, and the same number of grenadiers, in all forty soldiers with arms, who covered twenty pioneers with tools. Just before the blind, on the east face of the covered way, parallel to the same face of the demi bastion, was a passage cut in the glacis towards the surf; through which the party passed, and then proceeding along the surf, round the right of the stockade, came in flank of the head of the enemy's sap, from which their first fire drove all their guards and workmen, who retreated to their retrenchment at the salient angle waiting for succours; during which the English soldiers maintained their ground, and the pioneers overset the gabions, some into the sea, others into the

covered-way, and destroyed whatsoever implements they found : this attack lasted 20 minutes, by which time the enemy had gathered, and were advancing in much superior numbers, from the retrenchment ; upon which the party was recalled, and retreated, giving and receiving fire. A serjeant with three grenadiers were killed ; six others of the soldiers, with Captain Black, who commanded the sally, and Lieutenant Fitzpatrick, were wounded. The enemy's artillery bore most on the royal and demi bastions ; their mortars falling on the works wounded many more than usual. The total loss, including that in the sallies, was eight Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and 17 Europeans with 13 Sepoys wounded.

The enemy's sap being advanced to the east flank of the covered-way threatened immediate danger by surprize on the east face of the fort, to which the sea-gate gave the fairest opening ; for the embrasures in the north flank of the battery before it had been ruined by the enemy's shot which had missed or flown over the N. E. bastion and fascine battery ; and the gateway itself was a spacious arch shut occasionally with folding doors ; so that, should the enemy ever make a general assault on the ruined works to the north, a party sent at the same time along the surf, or even in boats, might force their way through the gate with petards ; and this party might pass without much interruption ; for the fascine battery which barricaded the beach was nearly demolished. The whole of the working party of the night was therefore allotted to remedy these defects, and before morning they repaired the fascine battery, restored the embrasures of the battery before the sea-gate, bricked up the arch of the gateway, and opened a small gate on the left hand, which had been closed. In the succeeding nights the workmen began and continued the intended ditch with palisadoes round the sea-gate battery, which had hitherto been deferred for services of more immediate necessity. The enemy employed the night with equal diligence, and pushed the sap of their retranchment from the salient angle 70 yards along the north face of the covered-way, and widened the work in an excavation sufficient to contain cannon and a large detachment of troops : this work, with what was done the night before on

1759 the other side, entirely embraced the salient angle of the covered-way.

January. The following day, which was the 26th, the enemy fired most of their shot into the town ; and most of their shells, as in the preceding night, into the works of the north front, by which a twenty-four pounder was dismounted on the N. E. bastion, and the casualties from the evening to the evening were five sepoys and one European killed, and 11 wounded, of whom were the Lieutenants Lang, and Little, who lost his left arm. In the succeeding night the enemy widened and raised their work on the crest of the glacis, notwithstanding the constant fire of the defences ; and no guards could any longer be kept at the salient angle they had invested, but sentries were advanced every quarter of an hour from the blind before the N. E. bastion, to observe whether they were beginning any new works, but discovered none. In the 24 hours to the evening of the 27th, no damage was done to any of the artillery, but five Europeans were killed and five wounded, and one with five Sepoys. The enemy's workmen remained very silent in their trenches through the night.

Three hundred Sepoys were intended to sally before day-break on the 28th, in order to surprize the enemy's battery of two guns to the south of the bar : but marching too late were discerned, and received the fire of the battery before they had crossed the bar, on which they were immediately recalled into the fort. In the morning the enemy began to fire again from the battery near their second crochet, which had remained silent ever since they opened it ineffectually on the 23d, and during this interval they had endeavoured to rectify the erroneous construction of the embrasures, which were intended against the right face of the north ravelin : they had likewise brought up two ten-inch mortars to this battery, with which, and three guns, they commenced their fire ; but one of the guns failed at nine o'clock, and another at ten ; in the afternoon another, which they were trying in the 4th embrasure, was disabled by a shot from the fort; after which, the cannonade from this battery ceased entirely, but the mortars continued. At noon a party with many yoke

yoke of oxen assembled at the bar, in order to draw off the two 1759 guns there; but the firing of the fort soon made them remove the cattle out of reach. The casualties from the preceding night to the evening of this day were one European and one Lascar killed, with ten Europeans and nine Sepoys wounded.

January.

During the night the enemy drew off one of the guns at the bar; their workmen carried on a mining sap from the left of the palmyra stockade across the glacis, and on a level lower than the covered way, intending to pass under this likewise in order to open the counterscarp of the ditch; they executed this work with so much silence that the garrison had no suspicion of it until two the next afternoon, when the sap was advanced as far as the scarp, or brick facing of the glacis, and being carried too high, the earth of the covered way with the facing fell in, and discovered them; some grenadiers were immediately sent to fire and throw grenades into the hole, which obliged the miners to stop, but they renewed their sap lower. Their mortars continued during these 24 hours against the works. A nine-pounder was disabled on the N. W. ravelin by the fire from the hospital; and the embrasures of Pigot's bastion, and of Lawrence's, the next on the left, were much damaged by shells and stray shot; for both these works were out of the front attack, nor was there a single gun which bore directly upon them; for the enemy had for some days ceased the 4 they opened on the 7th of the month in this direction, which joined to the left shoulder of the Lorrain battery. The casualties from the evening to the evening were two Europeans and three Sepoys killed, and two and one wounded. In the ensuing night the enemy threw many shells into the town, and continued hard at work both in their covered sap, and in raising a battery on the crest of the glacis, but with so much silence, that the garrison could not discover what they were doing: the working party of the fort were employed in restoring the right face of the north ravelin, and the same side of the caponiere leading to it across the ditch.

In the interval since the desertion of the black troops at Conje-
ram, several letters and other notices had been received from Cap-

1759 ^{January.} tain Preston and Mahomed Issoof. Pursuing their intention of enlisting a body of better cavalry, they arrived on the 12th at Lallapet, a town of great resort, 10 miles to the N. W. of Arcot, where their invitations soon collected 500 Moorish horse, and 600 Morratoes. The Nabob's brother, Abdulwahab Cawn, was at this time residing with their mother at Chitore, and being urged by her representations to some compunction for the distress of the Nabob's affairs, he proffered his assistance; on which Mahomed Issoof, with a small escort, went to Chitore, and in a few days returned, accompanied by Abdulwahab with 1000 horse, and more foot, being the troops he had kept in pay since he quitted Arcot in the preceding year. Overtures were likewise made to a body of 3000 Morratoes belonging to Balagerow, and commanded by an officer named Gopaulrow, who were lying at the pass of Damalcherry; but Gopaulrow insisted on receiving money before any moved, on which Preston sent him the bill of an opulent shrof for 60,000 rupees, which was to be paid as soon as the horse arrived at Velore; but as the messages and march required eight days, the army in the interval set out from Lallapet on the 22d, and halted on the 25th at Trivalore, within four miles of the fort of Tripassore, in which, as well as Pondamalée, the French had a garrison of Sepoys; but the pettah of Pondamallée, being much opener than of Tripassore, Mahomed Issoof sent off a detachment to plunder it, which they effected after some skirmishing with the Sepoys from the fort, of whom several were killed. Besides the booty they got in the pettah, the detachment returned with 3000 sheep and oxen, which had been collected from the country, and were kept under the protection of the garrison, in the common round the fort, to supply the French army before Madrass. The Nabob's brother Nazeabulla, who had accompanied Mr. Moracin to Pondicherry, and afterwards the French army to the siege, had lately returned to Nelore; and the example and exhortations of his brother Abdulwahab, had reclaimed him so far, as to promise to join him at Trivalore with his force; but he delayed, and the army having been reinforced with ammunition and two more three-pounders from Chinglapet, proceeded on the 27th to Trimliwash, a town situated on the skirts

skirts of Malrawzes wood, 12 miles to the N. W. of Madrass. The 1759 Polygar, with an agent who had been sent to him by the governor, came to the camp, and promised to bring 2000 Peons and a supply of rice: but, finding no money was intended to be given him, returned the next day into his wood, and appeared no more. Mahomed Issoof, as soon as the camp was pitched, rode with a party of horse as far as Maskelyne's garden, which stands two miles N. W. of Fort St. George, where most of the oxen belonging to the French army were kept under the care of a guard of Sepoys and black horse; whom Mahomed Issoof's party put to flight, and seized most of the cattle. The next day the whole body of French cavalry, who were 300, and Rajahsaheb's who were 800, encamped to the north of the garden, and on the 29th one of their parties routed one of Abdulwahab's, and took ten prisoners. The attention to this army, since their arrival in the neighbourhood, diminished the activity of the enemy's operations against the fort, by the detachments they were obliged to send and recal on different reports and alarms. Their approach, just as the enemy's works were advanced so near the defences increased the alacrity of the garrison.

On the 30th, at 11 in the forenoon, a sail was descried to the southward; when nearer, her colours were discerned to be English, and her form that of one of the Company's ships. All the French vessels, which were five, flung out English colours likewise; and the two ships, the *Harlem* and *Bristol*, prepared to get under weigh. A catamaran was immediately dispatched from the fort, warning the stranger to beware of them; in the evening Mr. Dalrymple was sent in a boat, with farther instructions to the captain. The catamaran got on board before the ship came to an anchor, which was not until nine at night; and soon after the *Bristol* came up, received and returned a broadside, and fell to leeward. The ship was the *Shaftsbury* East Indiaman, commanded by captain Nathaniel Ingliss, and one of those which were bringing Draper's regiment from Bombay: but, sailing much worse than the others, they made her the hospital ship, and left her off the south of Ceylon on the 7th of the month, after, which, a luckier vein of wind and current brought her to her port before them. The sick, who were

36 men

1759 36 men of the regiment, only added to the distress of the garrison, but she had on board 37 chests of silver, and many military stores, amongst them, hand-grenades, and bombs of the largest sizes, of which the garrison were much in need, having nearly expended their stock of these articles. The communication of letters was easy and expeditious, after the ship came to an anchor; and, by the governor's order, she threw out at day-break the ensigns of a man of war, and received, as if such, a salute of 13 guns from the fort. At the same time the enemy on shore began to fire upon her with one gun from their neglected battery at the second crochet, and two from the breast-work to the south, near the bar; all the three were twenty-four pounders; and sometimes sent red-hot balls. At three in the afternoon, the Bristol, which had fallen far to leeward, worked up again into the road: whilst drawing nigh, boats with soldiers went off to her from the black town. The Harlem, which had likewise been manned from the shore, bore down at the same time, and the Shaftsbury had got under weigh to change her station, but being intercepted by the Bristol, sustained the engagement under sail for two hours, and then anchored, where directed, as near as the soundings would admit, opposite to the south-east bastion. The other ships anchored likewise, but far out in the offing, and nevertheless continued firing until night. The rigging of the Shaftsbury was much damaged by the fire of the ships, and she received several shot through her hull from the shore: but no one was wounded, except Lieutenant Browne of the regiment, who lost his right arm. Before 10, the massoolas of the garrison landed the sick and the treasure; and it being suspected that the enemy's ships might attempt to board the Shaftsbury with their boats, the governor sent optional orders to Captain Ingliss, either to escape out of the road, maintain his station, or run the ship ashore. The confidence was well placed, and Ingliss determined on the choice of danger. The next day, which was the first of February, she stood the same fire from the shore, some from the Harlem, but none from the Bristol, for this ship had sailed away in the night to Pondicherry; and on the second, none from the Harlem, which anchored far out in the offing; but the fire upon her from the shore still continued.

The preparations of the enemy on shore against the Shaftsbury, 1759 slackened their fire against the fort on the 30th, the day she was discerned. The three embrasures on the left of Lally's battery, which bore upon the right face in the north ravelin, continued ; the two next to them, which were the left of the four that had hitherto been employed against the north-east bastion, likewise remained free ; but the interposition of their own work on the crest of the glacis precluded the use of the two other embrasures against this bastion, as well as of the four which had battered in breach the salient angle of the demi bastion : but they did not think it worth their while to remove the guns of these embrasures into those on the right, in order to batter towards the shoulder angle, that next the flank of this bastion, because they intended, as usual, to make the breach at the salient angle, in which their fire had already almost ruined the parapet. The fire of the burying-ground battery, with four guns, continued on the left face of the north ravelin, and the flank of the demi bastion, and the four guns in the hospital-battery enfiladed the whole of the north front. The outward gun in Lally's battery which remained free against the north-east bastion, they turned against the shoulder merlon on the left of the fascine battery, raised by the garrison on the edge of the surf, of which all the four guns bore on this and the three next embrasures of Lally's, to the left. Their mortars in this, the burying-ground, and the battery between them, likewise continued as before. Such was their fire at the close of this day ; and in these 24 hours one 18 pounder was dismounted by the hospital-battery on Pigot's bastion, 1 European, with 3 Sepoys were killed, and 9 Europeans, with 2 Sepoys, wounded.

The enemy's mortars continued through the ensuing night, and mostly against the defences. They worked hard under ground from the palmyra stockade ; but, as before, without being discovered ; and the earth they threw up on the crest of the glacis likewise concealed their intentions there, although the garrison gave frequent alerts, and threw grenades every half hour, hoping the occasion of a successful sally to explore their work ; but the enemy here took

1759 no alarm. It was supposed they were carrying on a covered sap towards the blind before the north-east bastion, which threatened the most dangerous mine they could spring ; and to counteract their intention by meeting their work, the garrison opened a sap from the left of the ditch, and directed it across and under the ground immediately in front of the blind. The mining gallery towards their battery on the crest of the glacis was likewise pushed on with much diligence. The ensuing morning, the enemy at sun-rise opened four embrasures in this battery, which extended to the right from the summit of the salient angle : one of them pointed to the N. E. bastion, and all the four bore on the salient angle of the demi ; but they had raised the embrasures so high, that none of their shot could strike the parapet, but all flew over the fort ; so that after five or six rounds they ceased firing, and closed the embrasures in order to alter the level. Besides the guns which they opened and kept up against the Shaftsbury, their other batteries against the fort continued through the day : the hospital and burying-ground, with all their guns, but Lally's only with five, three of which were those against the north ravelin, and the other two, which were the next to them, fired mostly against the fascine battery, where they disabled two twelve pounders ; a twenty-four pounder was likewise dismounted on the royal bastion : the casualties to the troops were 4 Europeans killed, and 9, with 3 Sepoys wounded. During the night, the garrison, besides the repair of the works, continued their gallery towards the salient angle, and the covered sap before the blind. The enemy continued their sap likewise still undiscovered, and worked in altering their breaching battery ; but when they opened it again the next morning with five guns, the shot as before flew over, and they were again obliged to close the embrasures.

February. This day was the first of February : the fire of the two guns from the bar to the S. and the other to the N. at the second crocket continued a crossing fire against the Shaftsbury with much aim, and sometimes with red-hot shot, of which several went through the hull. The Harlem likewise fired and helped to ruin her rigging. The fort fired upon the Harlem and on the enemy's southern gun and

and in the evening a twenty-four pounder, which bore on them 1759 from the St. Thomé or south-east bastion, burst, whilst Mr. Pigot the governor was there ; he and two other men were slightly wounded, but four more died of their hurts. The rest of the fire on both sides continued as the day before, excepting that the enemy's mortars were not so frequent. The Cuddalore, a schooner belonging to the Company, which had lain some days at Paliacate where she had stopped several boats coming from the northward to the enemy's camp, came this day near the road ; but seeing the Harlem ready to weigh, stood out again to sea. A twenty-four pounder was disabled in the saluting battery of the fort by its own fire on the Harlem. The casualties, besides those who suffered on the St. Thomé bastion, were 2 Europeans killed, and 4, with 2 Sepoys, wounded. In the night, as well as the day, the pioneers of the garrison continued the two gallerics, the one towards the enemy's battery on the salient angle of the glacis, the other under the blind, and the rest of the workmen were chiefly employed in repairing the parapet towards the salient angle of the demi bastion.

In the morning of the 2d, the enemy opened again their embrasures on the crest of the glacis, which they had been repairing all night, but with as little judgment as in the preceding, for their shot still flew too high ; and the guns being exposed as before without resistance to the cannon and mortars of the defences, were closed again in an hour after they had opened, and remained silent the rest of the day. The other batteries continued as before. The Harlem had weighed before day-break, and anchored out of gun-shot of the Shaftbury, which now only sustained the fire of the three guns on shore ; and theirs less frequent than in the preceding days. At eight in the morning, several parties of horse were discerned from the steeple, advancing in the plain about five miles N. W. of the fort ; and soon after appeared the whole army, with Preston and Mahomed Issoof. The enemy's cavalry at Viparee drew out, reinforcements joined them from the black town, and at three in the afternoon firing commenced, which lasted until sun-set.

February.

1759 The governor had repeatedly recommended to Preston and ~~Ma-~~
^{February.} homed Issoof to march round, and take possession of St. Thomé, and from thence to come by the sea-shore into the fort; or to penetrate wherever else they should see an opening; the intention of this junction was to concert measures for a general attack on the enemy's camp, which could not be explained by letters in cipher and liable to interception. The effort, however, was not to be made by a sally of the united force from the fort; but Preston's army, after being furnished with money and four days provisions, which the garrison could spare, were to march out and encamp abroad again; and at the appointed hour fall on the black town, whilst the garrison at the same time sallied upon the enemy's works. This project was scarcely feasible; for the enemy, knowing the junction in the fort, would be on strict guard in all their posts. Preston, although he disapproved the scheme, was as solicitous as the governor to carry it into execution; but the Polygars had failed to supply the provision of rice they had promised, which obliged the army to send for it as far as Chinglapet and Conjeveram, and detained them three days at Trimliwash until the morning of the 2d; when they marched, intending to pass to St. Thomé between the black town and the Mount, notwithstanding the whole body of the enemy's cavalry were lying in the way at Viparee. Mr. Lally, hearing of their approach, took a detachment of 300 European infantry, 500 Sepoys, and six field-pieces, from the black town, and joined his two bodies of cavalry which were lying at Viparee. He was accompanied by Mr. Bussy, and most of the principal officers, of the army. They marched onward in the plain towards Preston's force, who seeing them coming, halted on the other side of a long morass formed by paddy fields, which intersected the whole extent of the plain from west to east: the cavalry with Preston, to avoid the enemy's cannonade, kept at a distance in the rear; but the infantry drew up under the shelter of banks which continued along the edge of the morass. Mr. Lally made several motions to intice them to cross; but they were not seduced: on which he took post at three o'clock in a spot of ground covered by hedges and trees, and

and opened his cannon across the morass, although at the distance of 1000 yards, which were answered by only six three-pounders. The Sepoys, and even the Europeans on both sides, fired sometimes likewise with their small arms: but the horse were never near each other. From the advantage of situation, notwithstanding the disparity of the cannon, the loss in Preston's army did not much exceed the enemy's, being 15 Sepoys, one European, and five horse killed, and five Sepoys wounded; whereas the enemy left nine Europeans and thirteen horses dead on the plain. At sunset they retreated to Viparee, where Mr. Lally likewise remained with the detachment of infantry; and Preston, for want of provisions, returned to Trimliwash.

In the night the enemy threw fewer shells than usual: from the morning of the 2d to the morning of the 3d, was the first day since the 4th of January, in which no one was killed in the fort; and no Sepoys received any hurt, but five Europeans were wounded. The pioneers of the garrison continued the two mines: they who were at work under the blind discovered no signs of the sap they suspected; but the miners, who were pushing under the covered-way towards the breaching battery, heard, at two in the morning, the sound of men working near them in the enemy's mine on the right under the east face of the glacis, which it was supposed they had relinquished since it failed on the 23d. At day-break they sprung this mine on the inside of the covered-way, through the counterscarp of the ditch, at the extremity of the cuvette; into which the bulk of the explosion was thrown. Fragments of the brick-work wounded five Europeans and a Sepoy; but the explosion itself blew up none: nevertheless, to destroy many men seemed the only intent; for if it was meant to facilitate the descent into the ditch, their approaches were not sufficiently forward to attempt this operation; since the excavation was entirely commanded by the three innermost guns in the flank of the royal bastion, of which all the seven being covered on the flank by the reillon, and by traverses in the rear, had received no hurt from the

1759
February.

1759 enemy's cannon, and none of their mortars had chanced to light amongst them; so that all remained in perfect condition, and the enemy, before they sprung the mine, should have raised a battery in the same direction, on the crest of the glacis, to take off these defences. Immediately after the explosion, they began to fire from two embrasures of their breaching battery in the salient angle, which the fire of the fort, as before, soon obliged them to close; their other batteries likewise slackened, and their mortars still more. Their workmen were chiefly employed during the night, in lowering the embrasures of their breaching battery; the garrison, besides the repairs of the demi bastion, against which the greatest part of the enemy's fire had been directed, worked at their two mining galleries. The casualties of the day and night, besides the men wounded by the enemy's mine, were only one Sepoy killed, and one wounded.

At day-light on the 4th, the enemy again opened their breaching battery on the crest of the glacis, and for the first time fired from all the six embrasures, which, although something lowered, still remained too high to strike below the parapet of the bastions; and the endeavour necessary to reduce them even to this level retarded the repetitions of their fire. The two embrasures in the left of the battery bore on the north-east, the other four on the demi bastion. The N. E. returned with three guns, but the demi bastion with none; for the embrasures were closed, in order to let the workmen thicken the parapet within; and their fire was much better supplied by the four innermost guns in the flank of the royal bastion, upon which not a gun in the breaching battery against which they fired, nor from any other, could bear; and the gunners, sensible of their security, fired with deliberate aim, whilst the three guns on the N. E. bastion continued hotly on their opposites, and both together obliged the enemy in less than an hour to withdraw their guns, and close the embrasures: nor did they attempt to open them again during the rest of the day. At seven the gallery carrying on towards this battery having been pushed to the banquet of the covered-way fell in at the

end

end there, and the light came in ; but the miners stopped the hole 1759 so soon, that the enemy did not discover the mischance. The gallery was then filled five or six feet back, and from hence a return made to the right, from which it was again continued straight forward under the glacis. In the night, the enemy had withdrawn the two twenty-four pounders from the bar, in order to replace others which had been disabled in the north front of the attack ; they however substituted a six-pounder to check any sally from the fort. The cessation of this fire to the south released the Shaftsbury from the greatest molestation she had endured, by which several of her men had been killed and wounded, her hull shot through in many places, and all her masts and rigging ruined. In the morning, before day-light, she had moved from her station under the guns of the s. E. or St. Thomé bastion, and anchored about a mile in the offing, opposite to the sea-gate. The French ships continued at their anchors out of gun-shot ; so that all the annoyance which she received through the day was a shot now and then from the single gun at the second crochet. Against the fort, the four guns at the burying-ground continued with vivacity, but the two enfilading in the Lorrain, and the four crochet on the hospital-battery with less frequency : all the enemy's first-rate bombs were expended, and most of the next sizes, so that they only fired a few shells of eight and ten inches from the second crochet. In the evening, a sloop from Pondicherry anchored at St. Thomé with a supply of stores. During the night, the enemy fired a great deal of musketry upon the covered-way, and the garrison, besides the repairs, continued the two mines. The casualties of the night and day were one European and three Sepoys killed, and four with two wounded, and a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the demi bastion.

Early in the morning of the 5th, the Harlem, the Diligent, and three smaller vessels, got under sail from their station before the black town, where they left only one, a small sloop, and standing to the southward were out of sight before the evening. The cause of their sudden departure, was a report from Pondicherry, that several ships of force had been seen off Negapatam. At sun-

rise.

1759 rise, the enemy again opened their breaching battery, but before ^{February.} they had fired three rounds were obliged to close it again by the same fire as the day before. At nine, a red flag seen on the Mount signified that Preston's and Mahomed Issoof's army were arrived there from Trimliwash ; they had before represented the necessity of remaining at a distance until supplied with ammunition and stores from Chinglapet, provisions from the country, and money from Madrass. Mr. Pigot ordered them at all events to attempt the effort so often recommended of marching into the fort ; but, lest it should fail, dispatched in the evening ten of the troop of European horse, with Captain Vasserot, each carrying a thousand pagodas, who crossed the Island, forced through the enemy's guard at Chindadrapettah, and arrived at the Mount at ten at night, of which they immediately gave notice to the garrison by four rockets and a large fire. The fire of the enemy's batteries was slacker than usual in the day, their shells very few, and little musketry in the night. Nevertheless the casualties until the morning of the 6th, were another twenty-four pounder disabled on the demi bastion, one European and three Sepoys killed, and four Europeans wounded.

The enemy's breaching battery remained silent during the 6th ; nor had they repaired the damages it had sustained ; but in Lally's of which the fire had ceased since the 30th of the last month, six embrasures appeared to have been restored to good condition for service : but so many of the enemy's guns had been ruined, that they were obliged to withdraw the four from the recrocet battery at the hospital, to furnish the embrasures at Lally's which, however, they did not open until the next day ; so that their fire this day was from fewer guns than in any since they began the siege, consisting only of the four guns at the burying-ground, and two in the Lorrain battery ; but they added two ten-inch mortars to the two already established at the second crochet. All their cavalry, European, as well as the black, were observed filing off to the Choultry Plain ; and Sepoys, with guns and tumbrils, were seen marching that way from the black town. The night passed without skirmish, for the enemy were not heard at work on the crest of the glacis ; but their mortars

continued

continued. In the day and night two Europeans were killed, and 1759 two wounded, but none of the Sepoys were hurt.

February.

In the morning of the 7th the enemy began to fire, as was expected, from Lally's battery, but only from four of the embrasures and with a mortar on the right, all bearing upon the demi and north-east bastions, which together returned six guns: the other batteries continued as the day before, and the mortars in the night; during which no alarms were given either by the enemy or the garrison: two guns were disabled on the north-east bastion; two Europeans were killed, and five, and two Sepoys, wounded.

Notwithstanding the inefficacy of the breaching battery, the rest of the enemy's fire had by this time rent the salient angle of the demi bastion from top to bottom; and Mr. Lally, who viewed every thing with enthusiasm, ordered the principal engineers and artillery officers to give their opinion on the feasibility of storming this breach, and declared his own of success; but the officers considered the question with more deliberation. They agreed that the descent into the covered way from the breaching battery on one side, and the gabions on the other, of the salient angle of the glacis, was easy, and that the descent into the ditch and passage across it had been rendered very practicable by the mine they had sprung in the covered way from the eastern side of the glacis, of which the explosion had filled up a sufficient space at the end of the cuvette or trench of water dug along the middle of the ditch; but a rank of strong palisadoes ranged along the other side of the cuvette, and having hitherto received no damage must be torn down by hand, before the troops could gain the foot of the breach; who, during the descent into the ditch, would be exposed, without the cover of a single gabion on the flank, to the fire of the north-east bastion and of musketry from the blind before it; to six guns in the curving flank of the royal bastion, and abundance of small arms from the caponiere which led across the ditch to the north ravelin; and the havoc of these two fires would continue without the least resistance or interruption upon the troops whilst assaulting the breach itself. From these circumstances the officers declared the breach, although practicable,

1759 practicable, inaccessible ; but added, what they were not asked, ^{February.} that from a comparison of the forces, the prosecution of works to quell the fire of the place would only sacrifice the lives of many men without the least probability of success.

The only variation in the attack during the 8th, was the addition of one gun on Lally's, which now fired with five. The force with which the enemy intended to oppose the army at the Mount had collected in a separate camp on the Choultry Plain, and in their rear at Egmore were six field-pieces with four tumbrils. In the afternoon the Bristol anchored off St. Thomé returning with stores from Pondicherry ; and, as it was apprehended that she might have brought a supply of large shells, the governor proposed that the Shaftsbury, reinforced with 40 soldiers from the shore, should attack her. Captain Inglass concurred in this intention with alacrity ; but his masts were so much damaged, that it required the repair of two days before he could set a sail. No annoyance, excepting mortars passed between the besiegers and the fort during the night. Before the morning, the gallery in front of the blind before the north-east bastion had been carried far enough toward the sea to secure this work from any mines of the enemy, and was continued in a direction forward towards the palmyra palisade, of which the enemy were in possession, in order to cross any other they might be attempting against the east face of the covered way. Two explosions of powder had been occasioned in the enemy's works by the fall of shells during the night. In these 24 hours were one European and one Sepoy killed, and two Europeans and one Sepoy wounded ; but no gun was dismounted.

In the three last days, information had been received from Captain Preston, that Major Calliaud was approaching with a reinforcement from the south ; and these were the first advices concerning him which had reached either Preston or the garrison since his departure to Tanjore ; for every letter which he had written passing through the enemy's country, had been either intercepted by them, or carried far away by the messengers. A variety of untoward incidents had protracted the execution of his commission. He embarked at nine in

the morning on the 1st of December in a common massoolah, which 1759 had only six rowers and the steersman; he was accompanied by Mr. ~~February.~~ Boswell the surgeon, as his interpreter, and one servant. In a few hours after they were at sea, a hard gale of wind arose, in which they could not show the sail, and scarcely use the oars; nevertheless the drift of the wind and current carried the boat by 9 o'clock the second night as far as Devi Cotah, which is by the sea one hundred and thirty miles from Madrass, when the rowers were so much exhausted, that no entreaties could prevent them from putting ashore; and they grounded on the strand within half a mile of the fort of Devi Cotah, in which was an officer and some French Sepoys, from whose notice they were preserved by the continuance of the storm, and before day-break put to sea again; but the boatmen would not venture over the larger and outer surf, and continued driving in the hollow sea between the two, until noon, when they landed at Tranquebar. The rains had overflowed the rivers, which remained impassable until the 12th. On the 14th Calliaud arrived at Aimapettah 15 miles from Tanjore, where he was again detained three days by the bad weather. On the 17th he reached the city.

The king of Tanjore, when more closely pressed by Captain Joseph Smith to furnish the 1000 horse requested of him by the Presidency in December, pleaded the ravages which his country had lately suffered from the French army, and demanded 200,000 rupees before-hand; at length he more plainly said, that he thought the English did not care what befel the territory of their allies, provided they could defend their own: but as he could not allege this indifference to himself when attacked by the French, he cited the unconcern with which they had suffered the French to take every fort belonging to the Nabob, and even his capital of Arcot, without making any efforts to protect them; although he knew that the Presidency had not the means, and with the Nabob's were losing their own revenues.

Major Calliaud found the king in the same temper, so pre-possessed of the decline of the English fortune, that he neglected the

1759 usual attentions to himself, as their representative, and instead of a
 house, allotted his habitation in a choultry. In their conference,
^{February.} the king said he had sufficiently exposed himself to the re-
 sentiment of the French, if Madrass should fall, by the assistance
 he had already sent with Mahomed Issoof, which were 300
 horse ; but not paid by himself : nevertheless he was willing to lend
 400 more, provided Calliaud would discharge their arrears : Cal-
 liaud demanded Colonel Kennedy and the Jesuit Estevan, the French
 hostages whom the king had detained ; but the king refused, and
 let them depart on the 19th, as it were, in his sight. Never-
 theless, the horse were so necessary that Calliaud determined not to
 take offence whilst there remained any probability of getting them, and
 applied for money to the house of Buccangee, which was by far the
 most considerable bank in the Carnatic, and had hitherto transacted
 the greatest part of the Company's exchange throughout the province.
 but their agents in Tanjore refused to supply any money for bills on
 Madrass. The king knowing this promised the horse should be
 ready in four days, if the money was paid. Calliaud then applied
 to the Dutch government of Negapatam, who proffered a loan, but
 proposed to furnish it in coins, and at rates, which would have
 produced a loss of 25 per cent. These disappointments obliged
 him to seek the money at Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on
 the 24th, and obtained the promise of a supply from another shop
 of Buccangee's house established there : he returned on the 27th to
 Tanjore, where intelligence had been received the day before, that
 the Nabob with his family, who had left Madrass on the 20th,
 were arrived at Negapatam, and that his wife, in this short but
 tempestuous passage, had been brought to bed at sea. At the same
 time Seid Muctoon the Nabob's agent at Tanjore informed the king,
 that the Nabob intended to come into the city in his way to Tritchi-
 nopoly, and expected to be met, as usual, upon the road ; but the
 embarkation, the season, and above all, the travail of the lady, had
 convinced the king, contrary to the real motives, that nothing but
 the despair of Madrass could have induced the English government
 to expose the prince of their alliance to such risks and distresses,
 and

and either from the malignant pleasure of insulting his superior in distress, or from his dread of the French, if they should prove ^{February.} successful, or both, he refused either to admit the Nabob into the city, or to pay him a visit without the walls: nor heeded the representations of Calliaud endeavouring to correct his contumacy. The news likewise frightened the shroff at Tritchinopoly so much, that he retracted his promise, and refused to supply money upon any terms. However, 50 of the horse were assembled at Condore on the bank of the Coleroon, 10 miles north of the city, and Calliaud, in order to encourage the rest to follow, went thither likewise. The next day, which was the 28th, a detachment of 500 Sepoys, which he had ordered from Tritchinopoly to escort the Nabob, passed by in their way to Negapatam; and on the 1st of January he received from Mr. Norris, the member of the council who had accompanied the Nabob from Madrass, 10 of 20,000 pagodas which had been sent by the Presidency to defray the expences of the garrison of Tritchinopoly: but although this supply obviated the pretexts of delay, the king sent out no more horse. On the 5th, major Calliaud visited the Nabob at *Aimapettah*, and accompanied him to *Pondi*, a village 7 miles from Tanjore, where the illness of the Nabob's wife detained them the two succeeding days, during which major Calliaud went again to the city, when his exhortations, seconded by the appearance of the escort, prevailed; and the king visited the Nabob on the 8th with the usual ceremonies in a choultry on the road. Major Calliaud, to dignify the Nabob's appearance in his own territory, and at his earnest request, judiciously put himself at the head of the escort, and marched with him to Tritchinopoly: they arrived there on the 10th, but Calliaud returned the next day to Condore; where no more horse had hitherto joined the first party; his letters and messages, for he resolved not to visit the king again, availing as little as before, he returned to Tritchinopoly on the 17th, in hopes of levying a body of horse in the adjacent country; and on his departure expressed, intending it should be conveyed, the utmost indignation at the king's evasions. He however left agents at Condore to

1759 improve any advantageous change which might happen in his disposition, and the king, alarmed by the resentment of his departure, sent out the remainder of the horse with scribes to clear their accounts; on which Calliaud returned on the 21st to Condore, and, advancing them fifteen days pay, they crossed the Coleroon the next day, and on the 23d moved to Trimalvedy, a fort belonging to the Arielore Polygar, on the bank of the river, about five miles above Condore. Here he proposed that they should proceed 10 miles farther that day; but they halted, parlying for more pay, until the 25th, when they marched 20 miles to Mongalpaddy, a village still in the districts of Arielore; where they were joined by three companies of Sepoys from Tritchinopoly. The whole arrived and halted the next day at Volcondah, and on the 25th reached Thiagar: here the horse refused again to proceed until they received their arrears, which the king had promised, and failed to send. They were however satisfied with another advance of 15 days, but requested another day's halt in expectation of some of their necessaries which were not yet come up from Tanjore. On the 31st they marched from Thiagar to Tricolore, which is 15 miles onwards. The killidar Kistnarow, who had before taken the field with Mahomed Issoof, promised to follow with all his force from Thiagar: but none appeared. On the 1st of February, Calliaud, with his own troops, reached Trivanalore, and the next day Villaporam. The partizan Lambert, with 500 Sepoys, had advanced to this place to oppose their progress; but, receiving certain intelligence of their force, went off the same day to Gingee. The want of provisions detained Calliaud's party at Villaporum until the 4th; and on the 7th, at noon, they arrived at Chinglapet, both foot and horse so much fatigued, for the march was seventy-five miles in three days, that they could proceed no farther; on which Calliaud left them there to refresh, and went away with his own attendants to the Mount, where he arrived at seven that night; and as the elder officer took the command of all the forces there, Preston's, Mahomed Issoof's, and Abdulwahab's.

The

The Mount is a craggy rock, of which the base is oblong from 1759 east to west, and a mile round. It has two eminences, of which that February. to the eastward is much the highest, being 150 feet, and has at the top a small level plot, in which stands a church, the substitute of a much more ancient structure, dedicated, by the ancient Christians of Coromandel and Malabar, to a St. Thomas, whom the present erroneously suppose to be the apostle. A flight of broad steps leading to the church winds on the eastern side, just where the hill itself begins to round to the north. A village of country-houses, built by the English, extends from the foot of the Mount about 600 yards to the east, and consists of two rows of houses situated in gardens separated by a lane. The row which faces the south fronts a pleasant plain, and the walls of its enclosures as well on this side as on the other, where they skirt the lane, are on a straight line. The enclosure which terminated the front row, to the east, was the garden-house of Colonel Lawrence; it occupied 100 yards to the plain, and, as all the others of this row, the same extent backward to the lane; the gardens on the other side of the lane were not all enclosed with walls, but some with banks and hedges; all, however, capable of some defence. The last enclosure in this row, which from its owner was called Carvalho's garden, projected 50 yards farther out to the east than Lawrence's, the last in the front row, of which in consequence it flanked the eastern side: and about 200 yards out on the plain to the south, directly opposite to Carvalho's stood the ruins of five or six mud houses, with several trees surrounding a small brick building, which had once contained a swamy, or idol. This station flanked the ground before the front row of enclosures. The lane that separated the two rows continued nearly in a straight line from the east, and terminated at the bottom of the steps leading to the summit of the Mount. On the right hand of the steps was a craggy path from the plain on the south, and on the left hand an outlet leading round the north side of the Mount: contiguous to the path on the right, and within pistol-shot of the steps, was a house which looked upon the outlet to the north; and the last house on the other side at this end of the lane commanded

1759 manded obliquely the opening of the path from the south : a spacious gateway at the bottom of the steps fronted the lane between.

February. The black troops, exclusive of those which Major Calliaud had left at Chinglapet, were 2200 horse, and 2500 Sepoys; but the Europeans were only 103, 12 of whom were artillery-men, and 10 with Vasserot, troopers; the other 80 were musketry, including officers; the artillery were six three-pounders. Of the Sepoys, those from the garrison of Chinglapet, and 700 of Mahomed Issoof's might be relied on; but little dependance could be placed on the rest, and less on the cavalry. In this conviction, Calliaud determined to risk little in the plain, but to defend the whole village of the Mount, which afforded excellent stations. The plain to the north, behind the second row of enclosures, required few precautions, because the ground, being laid out in rice fields, precluded the approach of cannon, and the use of cavalry. But, if the enemy should get possession of Carvalho's garden, they might soon penetrate into all the other enclosures of the second row along the lane when the first row, attacked from this in the rear, and in front by another division of the enemy from the plain on the south, could not be long maintained. Calliaud therefore considered Carvalho's garden as the decisive post, and stationed in it 60 of the European musketry with four of the field-pieces. The two other field-pieces, with the 20 other European firelocks, and 300 Sepoys, were posted at the swamy-house; the inlets of this post were barricaded, and the walls of the mud houses were lowered to parapets for the musketry, and where necessary still lower for the field-pieces, but time and means were wanting to enclose them either with a ditch or palisades. Seventeen hundred Sepoys were distributed in the gardens of the front row facing the south, but the greatest part in Lawrence's to the east, and a communication was prepared between all these enclosures by openings in the walls of separation. The remaining 500 Sepoys were stationed to defend the inlets to the upper end of the lane, at the foot of the Mount; some in the two houses there, others on the steps, others at the gate, and others in different parts of the rock itself. The black cavalry had encamped along the north

side of the Mount, and were ordered to hold themselves in readiness 1759
to act as occasion should require.

February.

With the dawn of the next day, which was the 9th, the enemy were discerned approaching in two large bodies. The one consisting of 1200 Sepoys and 500 black horse, advanced from the Marmelong, or St. Thomé river, towards the east end of the village, but having no field-pieces, regulated their approach by that of the other body, which, having taken a circuit to the left, were perceived at two miles distance on the plain to the south. This body consisted of 300, being the whole of the French European cavalry, and 600 European infantry : the cavalry was in the centre in two ranks, the troopers on the right, the dragoons next, the hussars on the left. The infantry were equally divided on each side of the cavalry, and both divisions had two field-pieces on each of their flanks, eight in all, of which two were twelve, two nine, and the other four six-pounders. The whole was commanded by a relation of Mr. Lally's, of the same name, and with the rank of colonel. The black horse with Calliaud formed on his summons in front of the garden walls ; they were crowded, according to their custom, ten or twelve ranks in depth. Abdulwahab presented himself with seeming resolution at their head, and Calliaud, with the 10 troopers and Vasserot, rode on their left. The French cavalry were advancing before their infantry ; and it was the intention of Calliaud, that his own should wait until they came in a line with the flank fire of the field-pieces at the swamy-house : but when they were within 1000 yards, where the ground began to take an ascent towards the garden walls, although scarcely perceptible in a less space, the whole body of the black cavalry with Calliaud set off scampering, shouting, and flourishing their sabres. The French cavalry came on to meet them at a round trot ; but halting suddenly, the first rank discharged their carbines, by which four or five horses, and as many men, were brought to the ground, on which the whole, excepting Calliaud and the 10 troopers, went off at once, some escaping along the side of the Mount to their right, but others turning, pressed into the path in their rear, which led into the head of the lane at the foot of the steps, and pushed across

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1759 it by the other outlet, to the plain on the north of the Mount. The ^{February.} French cavalry followed them until they themselves came within reach of the flank fire of the field-pieces at the swamy-house, which falling amongst the troopers and dragoons on the right, obliged them to check and turn back ; but the hussars on the left, not feeling so much of this annoyance, pushed on, and pursued the fugitives through the opening into the upper end of the lane, where they immediately fell under the fire of the 500 Sepoys posted in the different stations in that part of the Mount and in the two houses, which drove them with as much precipitation as those they were pursuing, through the outlet to the north, from whence they galloped round the Mount, and rejoined the cavalry from which they had separated, in the plain to the south. Calliaud, with the troopers, retreated to the enclosure next Lawrence's garden, and his horse, which had received a ball in the breast, fell under him at the gate. As soon as the hussars returned, the whole of the French line advanced again in the same order as before, and halted at the distance of 600 yards ; the division of infantry on the right, opposite to the swamy-house ; the other on the left, over against the last enclosures at the foot of the Mount. From these situations the infantry of both divisions sent forward their field-pieces 200 yards nearer, which began a brisk and indiscriminate cannonade against the garden walls, and the post at the swamy-house, which was answered with effect only by the two field-pieces at this post ; for the fire of the Sepoys, even here as well as in the gardens, was thrown away, and nevertheless could not be restrained. Meanwhile the body of enemy's troops to the east halted behind a ridge, which extended at the distance of 400 yards, opposite to Carvalho's garden, against which their Sepoys kept up a constant and useless fire of musketry, which nevertheless was often answered from the four field-pieces in the garden.

Colonel Lally seeing no effect from his field-pieces against the garden walls to the south, and the danger of storming them, before the advanced post at the swamy-house was carried, detached at nine o'clock 100 Europeans from the division of infantry on the right, to attack it at the push of bayonet ; but the fire

of the two field-pieces, and the musketry there, met them so hotly; 1759
that they broke within 30 yards of the post, and retreated with pre- February.
cipitation to their division, which on this repulse recurred again
to their field-pieces. Calliaud, nevertheless, was convinced that
the post would be soon attacked again, and could not be main-
tained throughout the day, and therefore drew off one of the field-
pieces. At ten the enemy sent a stronger detachment to make an-
other attack, who were beat off as the first; and half an hour after
another attack was made by 200 of the division, who were likewise
repulsed; but these successes had so much elated the defenders, that
all the Sepoys, with most of the Europeans, accompanied by ensign
Airey himself, rushed out to pursue the detachment; who, as if
by design, retreated fast, and led them 300 yards into the plain;
two troops of horse, who had been patrolling in the rear of the in-
fantry, chanced at this moment to be just behind the remaining Eu-
ropeans of the division to the right; and seeing the advantage, set
off at full gallop and fell sword in hand upon the pursuers, before
they had time to form in proper order to resist the shock. All were
in an instant scattered, and many were cut down before they reached
the swamy-house; when, although safe, they did not think themselves
so, but leaving the field-piece, ran out on the other side to gain the
gate of Lawrence's garden, which stood open before them; but before
they got there, the troopers galloping round the east side of the post, fell
upon them again, up to the very gate, where their career was checked
by a strong fire of the Sepoys, whom Mahomed Issoof, seeing the
disaster, had ranged along the walls. The surprize, for several fell,
deprived the cavalry likewise of the recollection to return, and take
shelter behind the cover at the swamy-house; but they galloped a-
cross the angle of Lawrence's towards the angle of Carvalho's gar-
den, where Calliaud seeing them coming, met them with the fire of
the 4 field-pieces in this post: but the gunners having hitherto only
used ball, forgot to charge their charge for grape shot, which great-
ly diminished the execution; for the cavalry passed within 30 yards
of the angle, and continued galloping onward to the north-east, un-
til out of reach, when they turned in the rear of their Sepoys be-
hind

1759 ~~February~~ Mind the ridge. However some of them fell ; but all the loss they had suffered was much less than the havoc they had made ; for they had killed or cut down more than a hundred, but mostly Sepoys.

The right division of the enemy's infantry with their field-pieces immediately took possession of the deserted post; their left likewise advanced something nearer the inclosures on their side, and both began a hot cannonade against the garden walls, which being slight, but of brick, were easily perforated. The Sepoys within took shelter behind the houses, ready to man the walls on a closer attack ; but ever and anon, one or other of those, obliged to move to and fro, was killed ; and these casualties, although few, dispirited many, who took every opportunity to quit their stations, and steal into the back inclosures, from whence they escaped round the Mount, and hastened far from the field. Of the black cavalry not more than a hundred had returned since the rout in the morning, and kept both the rows of enclosures between themselves and the enemy's shot. At noon a party was discerned advancing from the St. Thomé river, with a piece of cannon drawn by many oxen. It was a heavy iron eighteen-pounder. The field-pieces at Carvalho's fired upon them at random shot, which frightened the cattle, and obliged the drivers several times to unyoke the restive, and at last to throw them all off, when the Lascars alone dragged the gun ; but when arrived at the ridge, where the Sepoys had taken post, it could not be made use of behind it ; and whilst they were drawing it further forward into the plain, several shot which took place amongst them interrupted their attempt. At length it was brought to a proper station, and at 2 o'clock began to fire at point blank ; it was opposed as before by the 4 three-pounders, which could not with the same certainty reach so far, and several of the men serving them were killed by the shot, and wounded by fragments of the house. Mean while the enemy to the south, besides their cannonade, which continued hotter than in the forenoon, advanced at different intervals several parties, as well from the division on the left, as the swamy-house, with the appearance of assault, but only to draw the unnecessary fire of the Sepoys which

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always

always succeeded ; and it became fortunate that so many had quitted, 1759 for even the best who remained could not be restrained from firing ^{February} on every motion, although in vain. But by 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the perseverance of the enemy's cannonade obliged them likewise to diminish it, for fear of ruining their own guns, and at sunset it ceased totally, and they were seen yoking, and soon after drew off all their artillery, moving to the eastward: the eighteen-pounder ceased and drew off at the same time. The sight was more joyful than they suspected to the troops in the village, for Calliaud had just before received information, that the musket ammunition was expended to six cartridges a man, and only three balls, besides the grape-shot, left for each of the field-pieces ; so that no retreat could have been made, if pressed by the enemy in the open plain. Spies followed them until they had crossed the river of St. Thomé, and began to take up their quarters in the village of Marmelong ; and immediately on the return of the spies at eight at night, Calliaud marched away with all that remained of his force, in silence, for fear of the enemy's cavalry, and left fires to deceive them. Before the morning, they arrived at Vendaloor. The fugitive cavalry of the morning had run away with so much hurry, that they reached Chinglapet before noon. To rejoin them, as well as to get a supply of ammunition, Calliaud continued his march the next day, and arrived there in the evening, where all the Sepoys, who had not entirely deserted, were likewise assembled. Of the Europeans, seven were killed, and 13 wounded. It was not so easy to ascertain the loss sustained by the Sepoys ; but by the reports of those who held out through the action, it was computed that fifty were killed on the spot, and about 150 were brought away wounded. The loss of the enemy was not known, but supposed to be 50 Europeans, and most in proportion of the cavalry. The firing of the action was heard in the fort, and several parties at different times of the day were seen going towards the Mount, and not a few palankins and doolies returning from it with the wounded.

Notwithstanding the draughts which had been made for this attack, the enemy's fire on the fort continued with more vivacity than might have been expected, although not so frequent as the day be-

1759 fore, but both their shot and shells were directed against the buildings. ^{February.} The Shaftesbury was not ready to weigh and bear down upon the Bristol, at anchor in the road of St. Thomé, before the night closed, and in this interval the Bristol employed all the boats which could be assembled in unloading her stores, and for more dispatch put a part of them on board of the sloop which was in the road when she arrived, and into the other from the black town, which had passed and anchored near her; nevertheless she had not discharged half her cargo before night, and for fear of the Shaftesbury set sail, and was out of reach before morning. It being supposed that the service at the Mount had drained the enemy's posts to the southward of the fort, two companies of Sepoys were detached in the afternoon, who proceeded as far as the governor's garden, from whence they brought off some ammunition, and in their return set fire to the gabions of the battery near the bar, meeting no opposition. The enemy's mortars continued sparingly through the night, but as in the day against the houses. Not a man or a gun was hurt in the fort during these 24 hours; but the numbers of the garrison were by this time so much impaired by casualties and sickness, that the grenadier company, which had hitherto been kept in reserve, were obliged to furnish a proportion to the guards of the different posts.

The next day, which was the 10th, the enemy fired with four guns and one mortar from Lally's, three guns from the burying-ground, two from the Lorrain battery, and with two mortars at the second crochet: the guns at Lally's fired smartly, but most of the shot from hence, as well as the shells from all the three mortars, were, as the day before, directed against the buildings, which were much rent and shattered. The mortars continued through the night, during which the garrison began another embrasure in the fascine battery on the beach, within the flow of the surf; it was intended to sweep the strand; along which the enemy might approach under cover of the bank of sand which forms the beach and stops the sea that has thrown it up. The gallery or mine at the salient angle was this day completed: it had been pushed 90 feet from the counterscarp of the ditch, which brought it under the enemy's breach

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ing battery, when a short return was made on each hand from the 1759 end, and in a chamber at the end of each return was laid a box, ^{February.} containing 200 pounds of powder, to which the saucissons were fixed. The gallery before the blind was sufficiently advanced towards the sea-side to cross any approach under ground to the blind, and another branch was opened from this gallery ten feet on the outside of the east face of the covered-way, parallel to which it was intended to prolong the branch to the north, in order to discover and meet the enemy if working under ground in this part. In the morning the Cuddalore sloop belonging to the Company returned into the road, which she had left ten days before, having employed this time in regaining the distance she had sailed in one; orders were immediately sent off to her by a catamaran; in consequence of which she bore down into the road of St. Thomé, and attacked the two small vessels lying there, which had not yet landed all the stores they had received from the Bristol. The vessels, after receiving a few shot, weighed and ran close to the surf, within 100 yards of the shore; the Cuddalore followed them as near as she could, when a party of musketry, with two field-pieces, came to the strand, and began to fire on her; by which the crew, who were all Lascars, were so much frightened, that they could hardly be prevailed on to stand the deck: the master, therefore, bore away, and in the evening anchored again before the fort. The fire of the day and night wounded two Europeans and one Sepoy, and disabled a 24 pounder on the demi bastion.

On the 11th the enemy's fire continued from the same cannon and mortars as the day before, but more briskly. The Cuddalore sloop bore down again in the morning upon the two vessels in the road of St. Thomé, and was again beat off by the same fire from the shore. The outward embrasure of the fascine battery in the surf was completed, and palisadoes staked in front of it: a range of trees were laid before the palisadoes, and others along the shoulder of the battery in the surf itself. The casualties in the day and night were two Europeans and one Sepoy killed, and four Europeans and

one

1759 one Sepoy wounded; a twenty-four pounder was disabled on the
February. royal bastion.

The same fire continued on the 12th, but with more effect, disabling six guns. Before this time all the original parapet of the N. E. bastion had been battered away; and so much of the body of the bastion itself crumbled, that the outside of the gabions and sand-bags, which had been substituted on the rampart, did not extend beyond the ground which had been the line of the inside of the original parapet; and in the afternoon of this day a shot from a twenty-four-pounder on Lally's battery came quite through the gabions, and wounded a sentinel in the bastion; four other Europeans and one Sepoy were wounded, and two Europeans were killed, during these 24 hours.

At three in the morning of the 13th, a party from the enemy's trenches, consisting of 50 Coffrees, advanced along the sea-side from the stockade, of which they were in possession, intending to storm and nail up the guns in the fascine battery. They were led by a serjeant chosen for his bravery, with the promise of a commission if the attempt succeeded. The party was discovered when within 30 yards of the work, on which they halted, probably to form for the push and in this short interval received two rounds of grape-shot from the embrasure next the breach, the execution of which threw them into such confusion, that they all ran back to the trenches, leaving several dead, and the serjeant desperately wounded. Upon this alarm, the drums beat to arms, and all the garrison and inhabitants repaired to their several posts: and a smart fire was kept up from the defences and returned by the enemy from the trenches, for some time after the party was repulsed. The serjeant crawled into the covered-way where he was taken up, told what he knew of the enemy's intentions, and died before day-break. This day the enemy ceased firing from the three guns in the Lorrain battery, by which the number of their cannon was reduced to seven pieces; but the five in Lally's fired very briskly: their three mortars continued as before through the day, but very sparingly during the night, which gave suspicion that they were busy at work in their trenches, and before day-light

at three o'clock in the morning, it was discovered that they had advanced some gabions on the edge of the surf beyond the Palmyra stockade, which indicated that they either intended to bring cannon against the fascine battery, or to advance by traverses under cover of the beach which was steep, and then attack the covered-way and the fascine battery together : a strong fire was kept up from the fascine battery upon the stockade, and the gabions they had advanced until the morning. In these 24 hours no guns were dismounted in the fort, but three Europeans were killed, and four, with one Sepoy, wounded. The mine under the enemy's battery at the salient angle of the covered-way was completely stopt up before noon ; and three pioneers, covered at night by ten grenadiers, were continued at the counterscarp in readiness to make the explosion.

It being discovered at day-break of the 14th, that the enemy had renewed their gabions beyond the stockade, a sally was made upon them at sun-rise. A subaltern and 15 men went along the covered-way till they came upon the flank of the stockade, 40 men with two captains advanced directly in front of it along the glacis, followed by 20 pioneers and an engineer without arms. The two parties attacked at the same instant, and their first fire drove the enemy from the stockade, and continued firing forwards from it on all that appeared ; at the same time the north ravelin, the royal, the demi, and N. E. bastions plied the trenches with grape shot, and all together deterred the enemy from venturing out of them, which gave the pioneers leisure to overturn the gabions into the sea, and to spread and level the earth they contained. After which, the whole detachment returned unmolested into the covered-way, having only two men slightly wounded. The enemy's fire continued as the day before, but they threw very few shells in the night, during which they worked hard in replacing the gabions which had been overset in the morning, and endeavoured to complete the traverse from them towards the surf ; but the fire of a twelve-pounder from the fascine battery, and the shells from the demi bastion, continually interrupted their work. In the evening the Diligent, and a sloop with stores from Pondicherry, anchored in the road of St.

Thomé :

1759
February.

1759 ^{February.} Thomé ; and on their appearance 15 sailors which had been taken out of the Shaftsbury to serve in the garrison, with 30 more Europeans, were sent on board with orders to Captain Ingliss to bear down, and attack these vessels. The decks of the Shaftsbury being lumbered with goods, she did not get under sail until 11 o'clock at night, and was too soon discovered by the two vessels, which immediately got under way, and before day-break were too far to the southward to be pursued. In these 24 hours two Europeans were killed, and five wounded ; but none of the Sepoys were hurt. A twenty-four-pounder, on the demi bastion, was split in the muzzle by one of the enemy's shot. For several days a number of labourers, guarded by a party of soldiers, with an officer, had been discerned from the steeple demolishing the governor's garden-house, and in the afternoon of this day they set fire to the village of Chipauk, which stood at the back of the garden, between the bar of the river and the village of Triplicane.

The next day, which was the 15th, the enemy's fire was very brisk in the morning, from six guns in Lally's, four at the burying-ground, and two in the Lorrain battery ; but it decreased in the afternoon, and at five o'clock they only fired from three in Lally's, and two at the burying-ground, and from neither of the two in the Lorrain battery ; the fire of their mortars likewise slackened. Several camels and many Coolies were seen passing from St. Thomé across Egmore plain to the black town, loaded, it was supposed, with ammunition ; but a much greater number of Coolies, with all kinds of burthens, passed from thence to the southward, which confirmed the intelligence of a spy, that the enemy were sending away their superfluous stores and the remains of their booty to Pondicherry, and gave credit to the information of the deceased serjeant, that they had determined to raise the siege. They fired very few shells, and continued very quiet in their trenches during the night ; but the garrison suspecting that they might be carrying on their gabions by the seaside, kept up a smart fire from the fascine battery upon the head of their sap until two o'clock in the morning, when the moon gave sufficient light to discover that they were doing nothing there ; on which

which the firing ceased. At the same time, the enemy's guard in 1759
their battery on the crest of the glacis, which for some days had ^{February.}
only been used as a lodgment for musketry, perceived and fired upon
a party of Sepoys who were levelling the rubbish at the foot of the
demi bastion, which had been beat down by the cannonade of the
day. One of the Sepoys was killed, on which the rest ran away,
and no other of these troops could be prevailed upon to continue the
work, which was however completed by a party of Europeans. A
six-pounder in the fascine battery was disabled by one of the enemy's
shot. The casualties in the 24 hours, were one Coffree and one
Sepoy killed, and one of each, with two Europeans, wounded, and
Lieutenant Hopkins lost his right arm by a cannon shot. Two
letters were received this day from Major Calliaud, dated the 11th
and 13th, advising his intention to make a forced march from Ching-
lapet, with the troops under his command, in hopes of surprising
the fort of Sadrass, of which the French continued in possession;
and requesting that money and ammunition might be sent to him
there, in consequence of which the Cuddalore sloop was immediately
dispatched with 300 three-pound shot, and 20,000 pagodas in money.
This sum completed 70,000, which had been sent out of the fort,
since invested, for the supply of the army abroad. Much more re-
mained in the Company's treasury, which was indebted for this
affluence to the remittances from their acquisitions in Bengal; but,
had this source failed, the wealth of individuals collected within the
fort would have been much more than sufficient to have answered
all the expences incurred for its defence. Very different were the
faculties and finances of the enemy. The treasury of the govern-
ment at Pondicherry was exhausted, and individuals from their dis-
trust and detestation of Mr. Lally would lend none to forward the
public cause, although their own; and from violence and mis-
management, the countries which had been reduced, and were the
whole extent between D^evi Cotah, Arcot, and Madrass, had furnished
neither revenues or other means adequate to the wants and con-
sumption of the enemy's army employed in the siege, where the
pay of the common soldiers was at this time six weeks in arrear, and

1759 their other necessities equally ill supplied ; who nevertheless, notwithstanding the discontented discourses of their officers, still more dishonourable because they had all got plunder, persevered in their duty with unremitting spirit and alacrity, and Mr. Lally, seems to have respected their merit. But the Sepoys had neither the same principles, nor received the same encouragement, for he had always treated them, as all the natives in general, with the utmost contempt and severity, which they now revenged, just as their slender services became most important, by threatening to leave the army, if they were not immediately paid ; and spreading their example by their correspondence, 500, who had been posted with a few Europeans in the fort of Tripassore, forced the gates, and marching out with their arms plundered the country, in order, as they said, to collect their arrears. The news was brought to the black town a few hours after the event, on the 15th, and created much anxiety, because all the provisions which the army received, came by Tripassore, and might be easily diverted by these malcontents. Few refrained from declaring that the siege ought to be immediately raised ; but Mr. Lally, to maintain the lead of his own opinion, gave out that he would never quit the enterprize, until he had tried the success of a general assault, and talked as if the hour was not far distant.

The next morning, which was the 16th, the enemy's cannon although not increased in number, fired with more vivacity than for many days before. At 3 in the afternoon intelligence was brought by a catamaran from Paliacat, that a sloop, which had just anchored there, had spoke on the 9th of the month in the lat. of 14° , with the ships from Bombay, from which the Shaftsbury had separated ; and that they had been seen on the 12th off Durasapatam, 100 miles to the north of Madrass. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the six ships were descried in the N. E. standing towards the road ; nevertheless the enemy's fire continued with uncommon vivacity until sunset ; and it being concluded, that, if they had ever intended to make a general assault, it would be attempted this night, before the reinforcements could be landed, every soldier and inhabitant in the garrison capable of standing to his arms repaired to their respective posts,

and as soon as it was dark a hot fire of musketry from the north 1759 face of the defences was kept up on the enemy's works, which ^{February.} they returned with equal alacrity. At ten at night the ships, directed by lights held out in the fort, anchored in the road. The firing on shore still continued, and at two in the morning that from the enemy, in their lodgment, on the crest of the glacis, and in their posts and sap opposite to the N. E. bastion and fascine battery, although very strong before, grew stronger than ever, but their shot flew too high : it began to slacken soon after, when the blaze of fires was perceived in their trenches ; at three all their annoyances ceased entirely, after which no motions of men were any longer distinguished ; but several large piles of wood in the rear of Lally's battery were seen in flames. The casualties since the preceding morning to this time, were three Europeans and one Sepoy wounded, and one Sepoy killed.

At day-break the whole army were discovered in full march from the west side of the black town towards the Choultry Plain, and the greatest part had already crossed the northern river. They had previously undermined the redoubt and powder-mill at Egmore ; and at nine o'clock a party left for the purpose made the explosion, which entirely ruined both ; these works had cost the Company 30,000 pounds, and could not be restored in a twelvemonth. The enemy were then perceived marching on to the Mount. The hurry of their retreat saved the black town from the resolution which Mr. Lally had taken of reducing it to ashes, if compelled to raise the siege. By noon the troops in the ships were all landed : they were, including officers, 600 men.

Joy and curiosity carried out every one to view and contemplate the works from which they had received so much molestation, for the enemy's fire had continued 42 days. Thirty-three pieces of cannon, 18 or 24 pounders, were found in their posts and works, of which 26 were disabled ; but seven were in their carriages, and both in good condition. Some spare carriages were likewise left, and many cannon shot, but no mortars, although several beds ; and many military stores, with quantities of powder in casks and flannel bags,

1759 were found carelessly scattered in the trenches. They evacuated
 St. Thomé, and whatever guards between this place and the fort
 were withdrawn at the same time that the army left the black town.
 The garrison, as soon as certified of their departure, sent out parties
 to the southward and to Egmore, who collected 19 guns more,
 mostly iron three-pounders : so that the whole number which the
 enemy lost and left behind were 52 pieces of cannon. One hun-
 dred and fifty barrels of good powder, and as many casks of damaged
 ammunition, were found in St. Thomé. But the strongest proof
 of the hurry and confusion with which they raised the siege, was the
 neglect of their sick and wounded, leaving 44 Europeans, (all who
 had not been sent away before) in their hospital in the black town,
 with a letter from Mr. Lally, recommending them to the care of
 the English governor : they were received and treated with the
 same attentions as if they had belonged to the garrison, and most of
 them afterwards recovered.

The fort fired during the siege 26,554 rounds from their cannon,
 7,502 shells from their mortars, and threw 1,990 hand-grenades :
 the musketry expended 200,000 cartridges. In these services were
 used 1,768 barrels of gunpowder. Thirty pieces of cannon and
 five mortars had been dismounted on the works. There remained
 in the fort, artillery sufficient for another siege, with 30,767 can-
 non-balls, but only 481 shells, and 668 barrels of gunpowder.
 As many of the enemy's cannon-balls were gathered in their works,
 or about the defences of the fort, or found in wells and tanks in
 the black town, as the garrison had expended. The enemy con-
 sumed all the shells of the two first rates in the stores of Pondi-
 cherry, and threw of all sorts 8000, of which by far the greatest
 number were directed against the buildings, all of which lay to-
 gether in half the area within the walls, in the old town to the
 eastward : and scarce a house remained that was not opened to the
 heavens.

Of the European officers, one major, Polier, two captains, six
 lieutenants, and four ensigns, were killed : one captain and one lieu-
 tenant died of sickness : 14 other officers were wounded, of whom

some

some dangerously; and four were taken prisoners: in all 33. Of 1759 rank and file in the battalions of Europeans, and of the men belonging to the artillery, 198 were killed, 52 died in the hospital, 20 deserted, 122 were taken prisoners, and 167 were wounded; in all 559; but many of the wounded recovered. Of the Lascars, who were natives assisting in the artillery, nine were killed, and 15 wounded. Of the Sepoys, including officers, 105 were killed 217 wounded, and 440 deserted. The loss in Europeans was more than reinstated by the troops brought in the ships.

February.

The governor Mr. Pigot, as soon as the enemy disappeared, relinquished the special authority which had been vested in himself, to the usual administration of the council, of which he was President; and received their thanks for the good effects of his resolution and activity during the siege: he had visited the works every day, encouraging the garrison by his presence, and rewarding those exposed to severer services with money. Provisions of all kinds in abundance, and of the best condition, had been laid up, and as well as all the military stores, were distributed from the different magazines, under the direction of the members of the council, assisted by the inferior servants of the company, whose habits of business established and continually preserved these details free of all let and confusion.

The Presidency, as soon as re-established in its usual forms, acknowledged their sense of the zeal and constancy with which the garrison had sustained every danger and fatigue; and no men ever better deserved this testimony; for scarce a murmur had been uttered: all was emulation. All however acknowledged that the enemy, in proportion to their numbers, compared with the strength of the garrison and works, had pushed the attack with unremitting perseverance and endeavour, and the enemy equally respected the science and steadiness of the defence. Indeed most of the principal officers of the company's troops had been inured to service under their general Colonel Lawrence, whom they still regarded as their preceptor in the siege: they were, Major Polier; the Captains Pascall,

Charles

1759 Charles Campbell, Beaver, Richard Smith, Gurtler, de Beck, Freishman, Vasserot, Black, Hume, Donald Campbell, Greig. February. Every repair and additional work was executed with regularity and dispatch under the direction of Mr. Call the chief engineer, although this was the first siege, whether offensive or defensive, in which he had served. Captain Hislop, who arrived with a company of the King's artillery-men, at the same time as Adlercron's regiment, was the senior officer in this branch ; he had served in Bergen-op-zoom. The Company's artillery, which furnished all the cannon and ammunition, was commanded by Captain Robert Barker : even the enemy acknowledged that the promptitude and execution of the fire from the fort was superior to their own : whatsoever guns or mortars were disabled on the defences, were immediately replaced by others prepared in store : Colonel Draper and Major Brereton were of the King's troops : so that no town was ever attacked, which had in proportion to the garrison such a number of excellent and experienced officers. The exertions of Major Calliaud and Captain Preston were equal in the field. Thus every officer of distinction on the establishment of Coromandel was employed in the defence of Madrass, excepting Captain Joseph Smith, to whom was committed the preservation of the next important object, Tritchinopoly, in which the French prisoners out-numbered, five to one, the invalid Europeans of his garrison.

In the evening, after the enemy retreated, came in Vasserot and the ten troopers with intelligence from Calliaud. This officer marched from Chinglapet on the 13th, but misled by the guides did not arrive at Sadrass, as he intended, the next night, but the morning after ; when the Dutch residents, although remaining in the town only on sufferance from the French, who were in possession of their fort, protested against his entrance with hostile appearance on the territory belonging to the Dutch company. At the same time a party of French troops, which were halting there in their way from Pondicherry to join Mr. Lally, went into the fort, and this reinforcement rendered the attempt impracticable excepting by a regular attack, to which the artillery with Calliaud was not adequate.

adequate. He nevertheless remained to invest the fort, and soon 1759 after intercepted a letter from Mr. Lally to Mr. Deleyrit, dated the ^{February} 14th, written in the bitterest terms of reproach and resentment, imputing the failure of his attempt against Madrass, which he then saw inevitable, to the iniquities and treachery of the government of Pondicherry, denouncing, that if this place should escape the vengeance it merited of fire from heaven, nothing could preserve it long from destruction by the fire of the English.

The loss of men sustained by the French army is no where acquired ; they were 2700 firelocks when they advanced from Conjeveram ; and Mr. Lally, in the intercepted letter, says, that he had still 2000 Europeans ; the Sepoys with him were not more than 1000, for several detachments were abroad. The loss of the cannon and ammunition which had been left or thrown away, he imputed to the want of serviceable bullocks, and this deficiency to the rapacity of the contractors leagued with the council of Pondicherry. His army marched away in rags, and without provisions, but, having gunpowder and horse, exacted them, and continued their rout to Arcot. Advices of their retreat had been sent off to Calliaud as soon as they disappeared, who immediately on the information detached Mahomed Issoof with 1200 Sepoys from Sadrass, to reinforce Chinglapet, lest the French army should invest this place ; the Sepoys by a forced march arrived before the enemy could have intercepted them, if such had been their intention : the next day Major Calliaud, with the remaining six companies of Sepoys, and all the cavalry, Abdulwahab at the head of his own, came into Madrass. Thus ended this siege, without doubt the most strenuous and regular that had ever been carried on in India ; and we have detailed it, in hopes that it may remain an example and incitement.

END of the TENTH BOOK.

B O O K XI.

NOT only the Carnatic and its dependencies, but all the adjacent powers, had fixed their attention, with various hope and anxiety, on the siege of Madrass, as an event which sooner or later must greatly affect their respective views and interests. It was believed, and justly, that much and extensive reputation would be acquired by the defence ; but as this advantage would soon be lost if the adjacent territory were not recovered and protected, it was resolved to take the field without delay. With the reinforcement brought in the ships, there were in the town when the siege was raised, of all ranks, 1900 estimated Europeans, including 90 Topasses and 60 Coffress, inserted in the different companies : of this number 1500 rank and file were fit for immediate duty ; and this force was sufficient to face the French army. Nevertheless, the Vigour of the determination exceeded the means : many carriages for the artillery and stores were to be prepared, and the artificers being mostly natives vero few, and had much other work to do : draught and carriage bullocks were to be provided, and the ravages of the enemy had left none in the country ; provisions were equally scarce : perseverance, however, continued. Chinglapet being secured, the rest of the troops with Mahomed Issoof, the horse with Abdulwahab, and those sent with Major Calliaud by Tondiman and Tanjore, encamped on the Choultry plain, were they were joined day by day by the Europeans of the garrison ; but the whole were not ready to move before the 6th of March, and in this interval arrived two more companies

1759 ^{March.} panies of Draper's regiment, which the ships they came in from England had carried to Bengal in the latter season of the last year, and they were now returned to the coast. The whole force which now took the field were 1156 Europeans, rank and file, including the artillery-men, with 10 field-pieces, of which two were 12-pounders, 1570 Sepoys, 1120 Colleries, and 1956 horse. On news of their approach, Mr. Lally moved back from Arcot with the main body of his troops, and took post at Conjeveram, where the advantages of the situation left them nothing to fear from an inferior force ; and, his health being much impaired, he went away to Pondicherry on the 6th, leaving the command to Mr. Souprie, with orders not to risk a general battle ; but to wait the attack. The defects of equipments still retarded the progress of the English army, and it was the 18th before they arrived at Paupa Braminy's Choultry, within seven miles of Conjeveram. On the last march, Mahomed Issoof, with some horse, advancing before the line, met some of the enemy's European cavalry, who, though much inferior in number, stood a skirmish with the foremost of his ; and were driven back, with the loss of an officer and two horses killed. On the 3d, Captain Preston at Chinglapet, hearing there was but a slight force in the fort of Carangoly, had detached Lieutenant Airy, with seven companies of Sepoys, to surprize it ; but they took a panic under the walls, not to be recovered by the bravery of their officer, which encouraged the garrison to sally, who killed 25 of them in their flight.

Whilst the army was before Conjeveram, letters were received from Colonel Forde, who was set down before Masulipatam, despairing of success, unless he were reinforced with men and supplied with money. By this time, it was found that all the resources of the Presidency were inadequate to the expence of keeping the army in the field, and no probability appeared of gaining a decisive advantage over the enemy. The Presidency therefore inclined to bring the troops into cantonments, and to send 200 men to Colonel Forde. Colonel Lawrence, although convinced of the imprudence of attacking the enemy in the posts they occupied at Conjeveram, was equally persuaded of the evil con-

sequences of retreating before them, and came to Madrass on the 1759 26th, to dissuade the Council, either from diminishing their force, ^{February.} or from withdrawing it into garrison; and his arguments prevailed. He then declared the inability to which the impaired state of his health had reduced him, of continuing in the command of the army; and received the highest regrets and encomiums of his eminent services, crowned by exertions much beyond his age in the defence of Madrass. The command then devolved to Lieutenant-colonel Draper, who was likewise too ill to accept it, and soon after embarked for England; on which it fell to Major Brereton, the next officer in the king's regiment, and Major Calliaud succeeded Colonel Lawrence in the distinct command of the Company's troops.

Nazeabullah, the Nabob's brother, had accompanied the French army to Madrass, and remained some days with them in the black town; when his own affairs, his doubts of the success of the siege, and the representations and example of his brother, Abdulwahab, who was joining the English troops in the field, induced him to return to Nelore, which, Mr. Lally having derived no advantage from his presence or endeavours, permitted without reluctance. Still, however, holding fair to the French, he retained a few of their Europeans, and 200 of their Sepoys; but as soon as he heard that the siege was raised, he resolved to declare entirely for the English, and blackened his zeal, by putting to death all the French Europeans, excepting their officer, Saint Denys. It is not known whether they attempted resistance; but the Sepoys laid down their arms, and were quietly turned out of the fort. With the advices of this deed, he proffered to pay 30,000 pagodas a year, if the Presidency would confirm him in the government of Nelore, and its districts; and, as no revenue, excepting from his good-will, was to be expected from that part of the country, until the English army had gained the superiority, his terms were accepted, and he sent the French officer to Madrass. Abdulwahab continued with the army, and his services were rewarded by a confirmation of the districts of Chandergherry and Chittore. The three greater Polygars to the

1759 northward, Bangar-yatchum, Bomrauze, and Damerlah Venkytappah, wrote letters of congratulation, although they had given no assistance during the siege: they were ordered to guard their own hills, and assist Chandergherry and Chittore, if attacked. The minor Polygars nearer Madrass were frightened, in expectation of punishment for the robberies they had committed in the English districts during the distresses of the siege; but their delinquency was overlooked, and they were told to assist the forts of Ponda-malée and Tripassore, into which garrisons of Sepoys had been sent, as soon as they were abandoned by the enemy in their retreat to Arcot.

Even the cautious Mortizally of Vellore congratulated the Presidency on the repulse of the siege. The body of Morattoes, with Gopaul Row, who had in the preceding year warred and gained the half of Cudapah, and to whom proffers had been made for their assistance, remained at the passess of Damalcherry, waiting the event; and as soon as the French retreated, Gopaul Row claimed 12 lacks of rupees, alleging that he had neglected other concerns of greater consequence, in expectation of the ultimate summons of the Presidency, and that the dread of his troops had obliged the French to raise the siege. It was known that he had equally been offering his assistance to the French, and the Presidency recommended to him, to cut their army to pieces before they reached Pondicherry, and then he should have the money. He replied, in several letters, fraught with insinuations of the mischief he intended to bring on the English, as well at Bombay, as in the Carnatic; and sent 500 of his Morattoes to join the French army; but Mr. Deleyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, advised Mr. Lally not to entertain them, because they would not fail to plunder with greater detriment in the French districts, as more extensive, than in those which the English had recovered. They were dismissed with compliments and a small present, on which Gopaul Row, to compensate and revenge the disappointment, sent a detachment round the hills, which took possession of the town and pagoda of Tripetty, intending to collect the revenues of the approaching feast in April, which the French government expected

expected to receive. This detachment in their way summoned the 1759 three northern Polygars as friends to the English, to pay their shares of the chout, or tribute, which Gopaul Row had demanded, and had not time to exact in the preceding year. March.

The king of Tanjore fired guns, and congratulated on the fortune and prowess of Madrass; and the Presidency, encouraged by his professions, proposed to him to assist them in a plan to surprise the fort of Karical, when the squadron should arrive on the coast: to which he answered, that the last hostilities of the French had ruined his country, and that the crop at present on the ground would likewise be destroyed, if disturbances were renewed; but that, as the English had beat off the French army from Madrass, they should immediately drive them out of Pondicherry, when Karical would fall of course. He was then requested to let beeves be purchased in his country as provisions for the squadron; which the strictness of his religion regarded as an abomination, nor would he suffer the interpreter to go on in reading the letter written to him on this subject.

The Nabob, ever since his arrival at Tritchinopoly, had continued sick. His disorder was a jaundice, produced by excess of vexation at the late humiliations of his fortune: the repulse of the French attack on Madrass conduced not a little to the recovery of his health; but his mind retained much solicitude for every future contingency. However, the vigilance of Captain Joseph Smith had preserved the districts dependant on the city in peace and cultivation, and their revenues were more than sufficient to defray the necessary expences of the garrison, as well as of the Nabob's family. The great number of French prisoners in the city, who were 500, whilst the European force in the garrison did not exceed 70 men, had been an object of constant anxiety, and plots were continually discovered of their intentions to break out of their dungeons; which obliged Captain Smith to confine them with the utmost severity. The Rheddi of Terriore, whom he had driven out of that town and district in the month of July of the preceding year, went away with those who escaped with him, to the borders of the Mysore country, where he was, at different times, joined by such as

were

1759 were disaffected to the other Rheddi, who had been restored in his stead. They sometimes made plundering excursions into the country between Terriore and Utatore; but attempted nothing of consequence. However, their numbers increased; and they kept up a correspondence with several of the principal men who continued to reside with the Rheddi in Terriore. When Mahomed Issoof marched away in November to the relief of Madrass, the garrison of Tritchinopoly could not spare the number of Sepoys necessary to complete his command, and three of the five companies which had been left in Terriore, were recalled to make up the deficiency. As soon as they were gone, the expelled Rheddi, with his troops, who were waiting to retake the place, arrived before they were discovered at the barrier of the wood, where some of the remaining Sepoys were stationed; but the rest of the guard had been seduced, and instead of assisting the Sepoys, turned their arms upon them, and delivered up the barrier to the enemy, who marched on, and advanced to the town without interruption, sending so much terror before them, that the Rheddi within, with his troops, and the inhabitants, that adhered to him, ran away into the wood and hills, leaving the English serjeant, with the Sepoys, to defend themselves as they could. The serjeant took possession of the palace, which was an extensive building; but the enemy surrounded it in the houses on all sides, that not a man could appear who was not exposed to their fire, which obliged the serjeant to capitulate, and he easily obtained permission to march away to Tritchinopoly, with their arms, and whatever else they chose to carry. Captain Joseph Smith had received some intelligence of the intention to attack the place, and had detached some troops to reinforce it, but it was lost before they arrived at the wood. This event happened in the end of November. In the next month, Hussein Cawn, who had been driven, in the month of July, from Seringham by a detachment from Tritchinopoly, returned from Pondicherry with some Sepoys and two field-pieces, and took post at Utatore, intending again to advance to the island, and retake the pagoda; but Captain Smith sent a party from the garrison, under the command of Captain Blake, who did

not

March.

not suffer them to rest until they took refuge in the Mysore country, where they remained, proposing schemes, and soliciting assistance ; but meeting little encouragement from this government, Husseyn Cawn offered to join the Rheddi, who had retaken Terriore, in making incursions into the Nabob's country : but the Rheddi, making a merit of refraining from the mischief in his power, proffered money and regular terms of submission to the Nabob, who, for the sake of the money, and to save the expence of defending the distant villages, accepted his obedience, and confirmed him in the government ; in which this was his fourth installation, and the other Rheddi had lost and resumed it as often.

The countries of Madura and Tinivelly had relapsed into their former state of anarchy and confusion, after Mahomed Issoof, with so large a part of his force, was recalled out of them in the month of July. All that the seven companies of Sepoys left in the city of Madura could do, was to collect from the country provisions sufficient for their subsistence. The incursions of the Nattam Colleries from the north, and of those under the Polygars along the hills to the west, ruined or appropriated whatsoever cultivation or revenue arose in the districts at a distance from the city. To the southward, in the Tinivelly country matters were much worse. Maphuze Cawn forgot all his former professions of reconciliation, united more firmly than ever, and took up his residence with the Pilitaver, who led the western Polygars ; and Catabominaig, with Etiaporum, who were the heads of the western, concluding from the superiority of the French in the Carnatic, that the affairs of the Nabob and the English would never recover, seized whatsoever country lay convenient for them : nor did the five companies of Sepoys left in the fort of Palamcotah, and bereft of all alliance, venture any opposition to their encroachments, or even to maintain the town of Tinivelly ; of which Maphuze Khan and the Pilitaver once again took possession. The Sepoys contented themselves with preserving Palamcotah, where they were often obliged to defend the walls against the skirmishes of the Pilitaver's Colleries, which consumed their ammunition ; and, as none of their letters reached the Carnatic, or even Tritchinopoly, they

1759 they wrote by the hand of a Topass, a letter to Anjengo, which is
 March. the southern of the English factories on the coast of Malabar, re-
 questing supplies ; but the Topass writing what he thought English,
 the letter was so unintelligible, that the factory neither understood
 from whence or whom it came, nor what they wanted. At length,
 letters from Mahomed Issoof procured them credit, which enabled
 them to purchase provision, and even to get lead and gunpowder
 from the sea-coast in the bay of Tutacorin. It was very fortunate,
 that the fidelity of the Sepoys in Madura and Palamcotah continued
 unshaken ; for had either of these fortresses been betrayed, no means
 remained of retaking them ; and the cession of Madura might have
 purchased Hyderally, the Mysore general, to join the French, who
 at this very time had an officer of distinction treating with him at
 Seringapatam.

The repulse of the French from Madrass had increased the danger
 of losing these countries, since the French, being no longer under the
 necessity of keeping their whole force collected in one point, might,
 still leaving sufficient to oppose the English army in the field, detach
 the rest to other objects. The partisan Lambert was moving with
 his flying troops from Pondicherry to the westward ; and danger
 to the city of Madura might accrue even from Hussein Cawn, if
 he should get a body of Mysoreans to accompany him from Dindigul.
 On these considerations, the Presidency resolved to send Mahomed
 Issoof back into these countries, and to accept his offer of renting
 Madura and Tinivelly together, at the rate of five lacks of rupees
 for the ensuing year clear of all charges, excepting what might
 arise from the necessity of defending them either against the French,
 the Mysoreans, or Moratoes. The Nabob had, ever since the first
 appointment of Mahomed Issoof to conduct the war in these coun-
 tries, regarded him with suspicion and aversion, and insisted that they
 should be left to his own disposal and controul ; although he had
 not in his whole dependance, a relation or officer of military resolution
 and experience sufficient to maintain them in this time of difficulty.

The French and English armies continued almost in sight of each
 other for two and twenty days ; the one wishing to be attacked, in
 their

their posts at Conjeveram, the other, a general action in the open plain ; and neither was seduced to give the advantage which the other desired. Most of the districts to the south of the Paliar were under either the protection or jurisdiction of the French government ; and as other defiances had failed, Major Brereton resolved to march into them, as the likeliest means of bringing the enemy to a battle, or at least of obliging them to quit Conjeveram, when some opportunity might arise of retaking this place, without which, even the districts already recovered as far as the English army had advanced could not be protected, unless by their continuance in the field, and in this part of the country. Accordingly, the army moved on the 1st of April from their encampment at Papa Braminy's Choultry ; on the 6th, they arrived, and took possession of the pettah of Vandiwash, in which they began to open ground, against the fort, and sent to Madrass for two pieces of battering cannon ; and a detachment sent by Captain Preston from Chinglapett beat away the guard at Outramalore, of which place he took possession, to secure the line of communication with Vandiwash.

Mr. Soupires neither gave any interruption to the English army, as they were marching away, nor followed them. Mr. Lally had ordered him to risk nothing, and the French army had for some days been reduced to great distress for want both of money and provisions. The siege of Madrass had exhausted the treasury of Pondicherry, and its revenues were anticipated by mortgages for loans and what monies could be collected from the country between Conjeveram and Arcot, or borrowed in the camp, scarcely furnished the expences of the day, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages finding that the English paid punctually, and at better prices, evaded as much as possible to carry any provisions to the French camp. The renters of the neighbouring districts magnified the detriment which their lands had suffered from the Morattoes of Gopaul Row, in order to protract their payments, by the plea of discussing their accounts. In this situation, Mr. Soupires considered the removal of the English army as an advantage ; since it permitted him to retreat to Arcot, with the appearance of parting on equal terms. He left in Conje-

1759 veram 300 Sepoys and 100 horse, under the command of Murzafabeg, who had deserted from the English a little before the siege of Madrass. ^{April} The renters at Arcot furnished Mr. Soupires money and provisions for eight days, and he extended his troops in different parties between Arcot and Trivatore, which is situated 20 miles S. W. in the high road from thence to Vandiwash.

Mr. Lally, as soon as he heard that the English army was before Vandiwash, immediately came out of Pondicherry with 300 Europeans, ordering Mr. Soupires to meet him with the main body at Chittapet; where they arrived on the 14th. Trivatore is farther from Chittapet, than it is from Vandiwash. The nearer road from Vandiwash to Conjeveram is not good; but from Vandiwash to Trivatore, and hence to Conjeveram excellent, and of quicker dispatch, although by the large angle it makes several miles more. Major Brereton was informed in the evening of the 13th, of the march of the French army with Soupires, and that the whole had passed Trivatore; on which he decamped in the night from Vandiwash, and, by a forced march, arrived the next day at Trivatore, which he found abandoned, and blew up one of the bastions; and continuing the same stress of march they arrived, on the evening of the 15th, near Conjeveram. Several letters had passed with Murzafabeg, who pretended to be willing to betray his trust, but asked such terms as proved, that he only wanted to gain time until the French army could come to his relief; on which Colonel Monson, with the advanced division, invested the pagoda in the evening, which it was determined to storm the next morning. Murzafabeg no longer dissembled, but kept up a brisk fire of musketry through the night, by which several, and Colonel Monson himself, were wounded.

The gateway of the pagoda at Conjeveram is spacious and lofty, and the tower over it one of the largest and highest in the Carnatic. It stands in the middle of the western wall, and fronts the principal street of the town, which is very broad; but there is an area between, of the same breadth as the wall of the pagoda, and 300 yards across. There were no gates fixed in the gateway; and to cover the entrance the French had thrown up a ravelin before it in barbette, on which

April.

as well as on the small towers at each angle of the pagoda, were 1759 mounted guns, but old, and of little service; and scaffoldings of bamboos for small parties of musketry were raised along different parts of the wall within. There was, in the area without, a large choultry, with the back to the pagoda, about 200 yards from the gateway, but a little to the right. Near this choultry, as good cover, the troops threw up a ramp in the night, and early in the morning began to fire over it against the ravelin from their two twelve-pounders, which the enemy returned with all their means, but with little execution; only wounding Major Brereton slightly, and two or three of the gunners. By eight o'clock the earth of the ravelin appeared sufficiently beaten down, and the troops marched to the attack, led by Major Calliaud at the head of the grenadiers. Few of the defenders waited the assault hand to hand, but, after giving their fire, ran into the pagoda. The officers, stimulated by an intemperate rivalry of danger, got first over the ravelin, and began, as the men came, to form them for the attack of the gateway, in the middle of which the enemy had laid a large old iron gun on logs of wood; and within were two lines of Sepoys disposed in an angle for the advantage of a cross-fire on the entrance. In a minute, 40 or 50 men, of whom much too many were officers, were crowded together within the ravelin, when the enemy fired their gun, which they had treble loaded with powder, and to the muzzle with musket-balls and bits of ragged iron. The excess of the explosion, and the thick black smoke which arose from it, gave the idea of a mine, nor was the effect much less. It killed eight men on the spot, and wounded ten. Of the killed were Captains Stewart and Bannatyne, Lieutenant Elliot and Ensign Hunter; of the wounded, Major Calliaud, Captain Vaughan dangerously, a Lieutenant and two Ensigns. Even most of those who were safe were so surprized by this havock, that they stood awhile before they formed again to the attack; during which, they luckily suffered very little from the musketry within. By this time, a party of Sepoys, led by Mahomed Issoof and Lieutenant Airy, had clambered over the opposite wall of the pagoda, and appeared in the rear of

1759 those who were defending the gateway; and, on their shout, the ^{April.} troops at the gate rushed in, and in a minute the whole garrison was between two fires, at mercy, every man for himself begging quarter; which was given with more humanity than usual on such exasperation. After all was quiet, Murzafabeg surrendered himself, out of one of the chapels into which he had retired, to some of the Sepoys; but, as they were conducting him to Major Brereton, Mahomed Issoof met them, knew the prisoner, and saying, "These are "the terms to be kept with a traitor," with one stroke of his scymetar, almost severed his head from his body. The news of this success was received at Madrass the next day, on which likewise arrived advices of no little importance from Colonel Forde.

1758 The Rajah Anunderawze had so little sense of the advantages ^{December.} which might have ensued by pressing on the French immediately after their defeat at Peddi pore, that he did not come up with his troops to Rajahmundry, where Colonel Forde with the English forces were waiting for him, until the 16th of December, which was ten days after the battle, although the distance is only 40 miles. Anunderawze had promised to make the first payment of his treaty, as soon as he should be put in possession of the fort of Rajahmundry; and, in confidence of his word, Colonel Forde had lent him 20,000 rupees, before he marched with the English from Cossimcotah. This sum, with a supply to the factory at Vizagapatam, and the expences of the field, had absorbed all the money which came from Bengal; and Colonel Forde had nothing but the Rajah's promises to answer the pay of the troops for the month of December. However, still relying on them, he crossed the Godaveri on the 23d, still hoping to appear before Masulipatam before the French had recovered the sting of their late defeat: but the Rajah neither followed with his army, nor sent any money; and, as it would have been vain to have attempted even the march without both, Colonel Forde, with much vexation and resentment, recrossed the river with all the troops on the 26th. The Rajah imagined they were returning to punish him, and, in this fright, fled immediately to the hills which skirt the province

province about twenty miles to the North of the city ; and Colonel 1759 Forde, for the convenience of a nearer communication with Vizaga-
patam, marched two days back, and encamped at Peddapore, which, with a name very nearly the same, is a fort ten miles to the west of that which has designated his victory. Mr. Andrews immediately sent him 20,000 rupees from Vizagapatam, and on the 13th of Ja- ^{April.} ~~January.~~uary came himself to the camp ; from whence he went into the hills, and reached the Rajah on the 15th, whose fears of the Colonel, and aversion to furnish any money, continued as strong as ever, insomuch that he seemed no longer solicitous about the success of the expedition. His conduct was the more perplexing, because the news that the French were besieging Madrass had stopped the English credit in these provinces, which the Rajah's name alone could immediately restore ; and if his troops did not march, others must be hired, for which no money could be found. The dilemma induced Mr. Andrews to alter the treaty he had made some time before, and to agree, " that whatsoever sums the Rajah might furnish should be considered as a loan ; and that the revenues of all the countries which might be reduced on the other side of the Godaveri, excepting such as belonged to the French either by establishment, or grant in propriety, should be equally divided between him and the English." With these conditions Mr. Andrews brought him back to the camp on the 18th : and it was agreed to march on to Masulipatam ; but it took seven days more in bargains for exchange with the shroffs before he furnished only 6000 rupees in ready money, and bills at ten days for 60,000 more. At length the armies moved from Peddapore on the 28th, after fifty days had been lost, of which the first twenty diligently employed would probably have accomplished all the purposes of the expedition, which now appeared of much more difficult execution, as the enemy had gained full time to recollect themselves : nor had the delay the smallest plea of necessity ; for the Rajah might with as little inconvenience have done at first what he unwillingly complied with at last ; although the expedition had been undertaken from a reliance on his promises, warranted by the earnestness of his solicitations.

The

1759 The Hardwicke and the two sloops, which had been dispatched from Vizagapatam on the 12th of December, anchored the next ^{April.} day in the road of Yanam, which lies on the eastern mouth of the Godaveri, where the agents of the French factory, on news of the defeat at Peddipore, had embarked their effects and themselves in a snow, which had not got out of the river when the Hardwicke arrived; and they surrendered to her longboat without resistance. Some days after, the vessels sailed down to Masulipatam, and cruized between this place and Narsipore on the western arm of the Godaveri, ^{January.} until the 9th of February, when they fixed their station in Masulipatam road, waiting for the arrival of the army; but weighing occasionally to bring vessels to, that were passing in the offing, of which they intercepted several laden with rice for Pondicherry, and the ^{February.} French army before Madrass.

The English army arrived on the 6th of February at Elore; but to prevent another quarrel, Colonel Forde had been obliged to let the Rajah march as he listed, employing his troops to the right and left, in levying contributions, on promise, however, of rejoining him soon at Elore. This place, otherwise called Yalore, is situated 50 miles s. w. of Rajahmundry, and nearly 40 n. of Masulipatam. It is the capital of a province, or phousdarry, of no great extent, and one of the four obtained from Salabadjing by Mr. Bussy. It has been very little known to the English, and never frequented by them since they withdrew their factory from Masulipatam in the last century. The town is extensive, and in the middle of it is a very large fort, in which the French used to keep a garrison mostly of black troops; but the Marquis de Conflans had taken them away with him, as he was passing on to Masulipatam, where he had determined to make his stand. The long delay of the English troops in following him seemed to have inspired him with a little resolution: for with some of the troops which had joined him after the defeat of Peddipore, and the garrisons of Elore and Rajahmundry, he formed a body of 200 Europeans, with four field-pieces, and 2000 Sepoys, which he called his army of observation; but they did not venture within less than thirty miles of Elore, and kept moving

moving to the West of Masulipatam, collecting or extorting tributes. 1759
Colonel Forde, whilst waiting for the Rajah and his troops, detached
Captain Knox, with the first battalion of Sepoys, to reduce the
French factory at Narsipore, where by this time the garrison, by the
arrival of stragglers from the late defeat, was augmented to 100
Europeans, and 3 or 400 Sepoys. Narsipore stands 20 miles to the
s. e. of Elore. Letters were previously sent to the Indian Zemindar
of the district, threatening the destruction of his country, if he gave
the French any assistance, but offering him alliance if he would
join the English army with his troops. The Zemindar met Captain
Knox on the road, and accepted the terms with cheerfulness; and
the French troops at Narsipore having relied on his assistance,
marched away as soon as they saw his defection, leaving in the
factory, besides common effects, some cannon and marine stores,
and in the river several boats and vessels; but they sunk what am-
munition they could not carry off. The English detachment leav-
ing a few men with the Zemindar's officers to take care of what
was worth preserving, returned to Elore, where on the 18th came
in the Rajah with all his troops collected; and the next day the
Zemindar of Narsipore with 1500 foot, armed in the fashion of the
country. But, although so much time had already been lost, the
Rajah was not yet ready to proceed, and detained the army at Elore
until the 1st of March.

Mr. Conflans, on his defeat at Peddipore, had written letters to Salabadjing, earnestly requesting he would march with his army from Hyderabad to Masulipatam, when both their forces united could not fail of destroying the English troops, and punishing the powers of the country which had revolted to their common enemy. The desistance of Salabadjing with Mr. Bussy from the pursuit of Nizamally towards Brampore had encouraged this prince to resume his former ambitions; in which he was, at least secretly, abetted by the adherents of Shanavaze Khan and Mahomed Hussein, whose deaths, as well as his own flight to Brampore, had been the im-
mediate consequences of the assassination of Hyderjung, the duan
of Mr. Bussy: but this confederacy refrained from any conspi-
cuous

1759 ^{April.} cuous exertion, until they saw Mr. Bussy and the whole of the French force quitting Hyderabad, and the service of Salabadjing, in obedience to the orders of Mr. Lally; when judging little ^{March.} likelihood of their return, they acted with more open declaration; and soon after, Nizamally was enabled, with the assistance of his friends, to increase his force from 1500 to 15000 horse, with which he marched from Brampore in November, and was received with homage into the city of Aurengabad; but the fortress of Dollabad still held out for Salabadjing. The insolence of Salabadjing, wedded to habits, saw no means of coercing his brother, but by the accustomed assistance of a body of French troops, which his own aid to Conflans in this time of necessity was certainly the likeliest means of procuring: but few of his officers were desirous of seeing the re-establishment of a power, which had interfered so much with their own authority and advantages in the government; nevertheless, they imagined, that the present contest for the ceded provinces between the French and English might give a chance of recovering these countries to their former dependence on the soubahship; and in this view most of them advised him to march towards Masulipatam. His brother, bassaulet Jung, concurred in the same opinion, and marched with his forces from Adoni at the same time that Salabadjing was advancing from Hyderabad. Both joined near the Kristna, and amounted to 15000 horse and 20000 foot. Neither their approach, nor the probability of their assisting the French, deterred Colonel Forde from his purpose of proceeding against Masulipatam. It was obvious, that the junction of Salabadjing's army with the French would bring heavy vengeance upon the Rajah, if the English troops should be obliged to retire before them: but even this consideration, because the danger was distant, could not induce him to relinquish the immediate advantages of his delay, although nothing more than the collections of the day levied by his troops spread abroad in all parts of the country.

Five miles to the south of Elore you arrive at the bed of a vast lake, which extends 47 miles in length, from west to east across the

the situation of the city, and 14 in breadth from north to south. 1759
 From the beginning of the rains in July, until the end of September, the whole is spread over with water, excepting 60 or 70 small islots, on which the inhabitants remain; but during the rest ^{Augt.} _{March} of the year the whole is dry and passable, and in many places highly cultivated. The army, and for the first time any of the English troops, marched across the lake, and on the 3d of March encamped near a small fort, called Concale, in which the French had left a serjeant with 13 Europeans, and two companies of Sepoys. Captain Maclean, with six companies of Sepoys, were sent to attack and even escalade the fort: the garrison had the day before received assurances from Du Rocher, the commander of the army of observation, that he would arrive to their assistance on the 28th; relying on which, they manned the walls, and seemed resolute to defend themselves. Much firing of musketry passed with much loss to the assailants, who nevertheless twice attempted to break through the wicket of the gate, for want of better implements, with iron crows; but were each time beaten off; on which Captain Macleane sent to the army for a reinforcement of men and two guns; they arrived in the evening, and the guns were immediately applied, and beat open the gates. The detachment rushed in without mercy, and in the first onset killed all they met, who were only Sepoys; for the Europeans hid themselves until the firing and slaughter ceased. A few hours after, a native brought intelligence, that a party of forty Europeans, with some Sepoys, from the army of observation, were arrived within a few miles; on which Captain Macleane marched out to attack them. But they, hearing the fort was taken, had retreated. A small garrison of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, was left to secure the fort from surprize, and the army marched on towards Masulipatam, in sight of which they arrived on the 6th of March; and the same day received advices, that the French army under the command of Mr. Lally, had been obliged to raise the siege of Madrass.

1759 The fort and town of Masulipatam are situated beyond the reach
^{April.} of cannon-shot asunder. The fort stands a mile and a half from
^{March.} the sea-shore, on the edge of a sound formed partly by an inlet of
 the sea, partly by drains from the circumjacent ground, and still
 more by a continued stream which the river Kristna sends off about
 15 miles to the s. w. and which falls into the upper part of the
 sound, very near the fort. The Sound has sometimes three fathom,
 and at others only three feet water; and opposite to the fort, is 500
 yards in breadth. The south side of the fort extends about 600
 along the Sound, and 800 from thence to the north; and its area,
 as well as form, would differ very little from a parallelogram of
 these dimensions, if the eastern side did not lie in a re-entering angle,
 which, however, is a very obtuse one. The ground along the sea-
 shore for two miles to the north and south of the inlet of the Sound,
 is a collection of sand-hills, which extend about half a mile inland,
 when they cease on the border of a morass, which surrounds the fort
 on every side, and continues to the west and south for several miles;
 and to the N. w. and north, there is no hard ground at less than a
 mile of the fort, excepting a few small spots of sand in the morass,
 which are near it to the N. E.: but to the east, the sand hills along
 the sea are within 800 yards of the walls. The morass in all
 directions is intersected with creeks and gullies, which fall into the
 sound.

The Pettah, or town of Masulipatam, is situated a mile and a
 half to the N. w. of the fort, on a plot of ground rising above the
 morass; across which, the communication between this ground and
 the fort is by a straight causeway 2000 yards in length. The town
 is very extensive, and its ground on the farther side still to the N. w.
 is bounded by another morass, which stretches along it from the s. w.
 to the N. E. but is stopped by the sand-hills of the sea-shore, along
 which is the only access to the town on firm ground; for both mo-
 rasses are miry even in the driest season, and were so now, although
 no rain had fallen for 40 days.

Mr. Conflans, with all his troops, excepting the few guards in
 the fort, were encamped in the Pettah for the convenience of water,
 of

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of which there is none in the fort but what is preserved in cisterns. His ideas of remaining here extended no farther than this advantage; although, by flinging up an entrenchment across the dry ground from one morass to the other, he might have stopped the English army, to which the force with him was equal, being 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys, without the army of observation, which he had not recalled; and, as soon as the English army appeared, he retreated by the causeway, into the fort. The troops of Anunderauze and of the Zemindar of Narsipore encamped in the pettah; the English on the sand to the north-east.

The French, since they took possession of the Fort in 1751, had modernized the defences: the walls were mud faced with bricks as high as the parapet; and the three sides to the west, north, and east, contained 11 angular bastions of various shapes and sizes; before which were a palisaded berm, and a wet ditch; but no glacis. The front to the south along the sound, from reliance on that defence, was left open. The bastion next the N. W. fronted the causeway leading to the pettah: in this bastion was the gateway, and 120 yards of the causeway was converted into a caponiere, which terminated in a strong ravelin that scoured along the length of the causeway.

No regular approaches could be made to the fort, but by an army ten times stronger than Colonel Forde's; for hitherto black troops, howsoever numerous, were counted for nothing in the service of carrying on trenches. Colonel Forde therefore resolved to attack the fort from the sand-hills to the east, as the nearest shot; and by batteries detached from each other, without the communication of trenches, as little was to be feared from the sallies of the besieged. The ground had the advantage, although this circumstance would not have determined the choice, of being nearest to the disembarkation of the stores and heavy artillery from the Hardwicke, which, with the two sloops, were in the road.

Three batteries were erected; one in a fishing village near the inward point of the sand to the s. w. where it is bordered by the inlet of the sea to the south, and the west by a large creek in the morass coming from the north. Four hundred yards to the north of this bat-

1759 ^{April.} ~~1759~~ tery, and nearer to the edge of the same creek, was another : the ^{March.} third battery was at an equal distance 100 yards in the rear of both. The battery to the north, and that to the south, had each two eighteen and two twenty-four pounders ; but in the south were likewise the bombarding artillery, which were three mortars, of 13, nine, and eight inches. The battery in the center had only two twelve-pounders.

In the S. E. angle of the fort, close on the sound, was a bastion called the François, of 10 guns. For some distance from hence to the north, the want of hard ground had obliged the rampart to recede in a re-entering angle, in the bottom of which was a work in the form of a demi-lune, having only two faces, without flanks, which would have been needless, since the line of the faces sufficiently flanked the bastion François on the right, and that called the Saint John on the left. This work was called the Dutch bastion. The Saint John had eight guns, and beyond it in the N. E. angle of the fort was the bastion called the Camelion, mounting 10 guns. The southern of the English batteries fired on the François and Dutch bastion ; the center on Saint John's ; and the northern on the Cameleon. As soon as their position was decided, the garrison raised a battery on the left shore of the inlet as you enter from the sea ; which took them all in flank ; but as this battery was separated from the fort by the whole breadth of the sound, and might be attacked in the night by the boats of the ships, the garrison kept a constant guard in it of Europeans, besides Sepoys. They likewise stationed a stronger guard in the ravelin at the end of the caponier on the other side of the fort. Besides the immediate superiority of artillery standing on their works, the garrison had others in store mounted ready to replace what might be rendered useless in the course of service ; whereas the English army could only restore the loss of theirs by borrowing the common guns of the Hardwicke, which were nine-pounders, or the Rajah's, which were good for nothing.

The French army of observation, as soon as the English passed onwards from Concalle, crossed the country to Elore, where there was no garrison to oppose them ; and from hence went on to Rajahmundry, where the sick of the army, in all 25 Europeans, and 40 Sepoys^{1,000}

had been left under the command of Mr. Bristol, who a few days before had received a large sum in gold and silver, sent from Bengal to Vizigapatam, and from hence to him, for the service of the army with Colonel Forde. On the approach of the enemy, Bristol sent away the treasure to Cockanarah, a Dutch settlement on the coast: and as soon as they appeared on the river, ordered all such of his men as were capable of the fatigue to go away, and endeavour to gain Vizagapatam. The enemy marched two days onwards from Rajamundrum, giving out that they intended to take Vizianagarum, the capital of Anunderauze, as well as the English fort at Vizagapatam; but their views were only to extort money from the chiefs and renters, by the severities they exercised in the country. However, finding they could not collect as much as they spent, they returned; and directed their march to join the army of Salabadjing. The daily news of their motions terrified the Rajah with apprehensions for his countries, and no persuasions could induce him to advance either his credit or money: none remained in the military chest: Colonel Forde had borrowed all that the officers under his command had realized from the spoils of the campaign, and had even used the prize-money of the troops; and the interposition of the French army of observation precluded the hopes of receiving what had been sent to Mr. Bristol; and by this time, every soldier in the army had perceived the obstacles which must be surmounted, to reduce the fort, which exasperated the sense of their distresses. In these agitations, the whole line of Europeans turned out on the 19th, with their arms, and threatened to march away. Colonel Forde, with much difficulty, prevailed on them to return to their tents, and to depute one or two to explain their complaints. The deputies declared, that all were resolved not to serve the siege, unless they were immediately paid the amount of the prize-money already due to them, and were assured of the whole booty, in case Masulipatam should be taken. According to the Company's regulations, authorized by the Crown, the troops in India are only entitled to one half of what is taken in the forts they reduce; the other half is reserved to the Company. Colonel Forde promised to pay them their prize-money,

out

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1759 out of the very first he should receive ; and, as he could not break through the regulation, assured them he would solicit the Company by a representation of their hardships and services, to give up their share of what might be take in Masulipatam ; of which, he should retain the amount, until their determination was known. These promises appeased them ; and they returned to their duty with their usual ardour. Nevertheless the batteries were not completed till the 25th, 18 days after the arrival of the army, during which the fort had kept a constant fire, which had only killed five men.

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Salabadjing, as he approached, sent forward letters and messengers, commanding Anunderauze and the Zemindars who had joined the English, to quit them, and repair immediately, as vassals to his standard. On the 27th, advices were received in the camp, that his army was arrived at Bezoara on the Kristna, 40 miles from Masulipatam ; and the same day came reports, that the French army of observation had retaken Rajahmundry.

The Rajah, who had for some days been faltering, was now so terrified, that he marched away with all his forces the same night, without giving warning, intending to regain his own country on the other side of the Godaveri ; and, notwithstanding the dilatoriness of his former motions, he on this occasion advanced 16 miles before day-break. Colonel Forde sent messengers after him, representing the absurdity of his conduct, in thinking to escape the numerous cavalry of Salabadjing on the one hand, and the French army of observation, who were towards Rajahmundry, on the other ; whereas, by remaining with the English troops his retreat would be assured, and the reduction of Masulipatam, even now not impracticable. The plain good sense of this advice brought him back with his army to the Pettah. Colonel Forde, although with little hopes, would not neglect the only means in his power of amusing Salabadjing from advancing to the relief of Masulipatam, and requested his permission to send a deputy to treat, professing no other intention than to take possession of the French garrisons and factories on the coast, without assuming the authority they had held in the inland

inland countries. Salabadjing consented to receive the deputy, and Mr. Johnstone was sent to his camp on the 1st of April.

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The three batteries continued a hot fire from the 25th of March to the 4th of April. On the 5th, the weather, which had hitherto been gentle, changed to a hard gale of wind, with thunder, lightning, and immense rain, which brought in the southern monsoon, with the return of fair weather on the 6th. In the evening the artillery officers reported, that there was no more than two day's ammunition left for the service of the batteries. Intelligence was likewise received, that Salabadjing was advancing from Bezoara, and that the French army of observation, which he had invited, were very near his. It was now no longer possible for the English army to retreat the long way they had come, as the whole garrison of Masulipatam and the army of observation would join the Subah's in the pursuit. However, the camp might embark; for the shore at Masulipatam is still, and the only part on the coast of Coromandel, on which the sea does not beat with a strong surf. But Colonel Forde regarded this mode of retreat as intolerable disgrace, and resolved to storm the fort; judging, moreover, that the garrison would not suspect the attempt at the very time when the excess of the rain had rendered the approach over the morass much less practicable than before. He accordingly ordered the fire of the batteries to be kept up with double vivacity through the next day, and all the troops to be under arms at ten at night.

The ditch of the fort, at the ebb of the tide, which would happen at midnight, has only three feet water, and having no glacis, nothing prevented the immediate access. Notwithstanding the garrison had constantly repaired in the night the damages of the day, the hot and continued firing of this day had ruined the bastions sufficiently to mount; and each of the three had been equally fired upon, to confound the enemy's guess of the assault. As no outworks obstructed a full view of the body of the place, it was seen from the batteries, that the two bastions upon the sound on the extremities of the fort to the S. W. and the S. E. were in barbette, that is, without embrasures and merlons, but with a parapet low enough for cannon to

1759 to fire over, which is rarely four feet high. From the s. w. bastion, which was named St. Michael's, to the next on the w. called the ^{April.} Saline, the exterior ground was a miry swamp of mud, in which the ditch that surrounded the rest of the fort, could not have been continued, but at great expence and labour, and was left in this state, because supposed of more difficult passage than the ditch itself. Some days before a black servant of Captain Yorke's, who had lately lived in Masulipatam, told him that he had sometimes seen the natives employed in the fort wade over the quagmire between the two bastions: and on this intelligence, Colonel Forde had permitted Captain Yorke and Knox to examine this passage; they took 100 Sepoys, and placing them in different parties behind one another to support their retreat, went on at midnight, properly clad to the skin, in order to resemble black men naked, and entered the quagmire, which they passed half over, and found it not above knee deep, but the mud very tenacious; they returned undiscovered, and their report determined Colonel Forde to try an attack on this quarter at the same time as the main assault; which at least would distract the enemy's attention. In the same intention the country troops belonging to the Rajah were to march along the causeway over the morass, and on each side of it, and to skirmish against the ravelin in front of the gateway.

The battalion of Europeans, reinforced with 30 sailors from the Hardwicke, all the artillery-men, and half the Sepoys, were allotted for the real attack, which was to be made on the bastion called the Cameleon in the N. E. angle of the fort. Their whole number was 346 Europeans, rank and file; the Sepoys amounted to 1400; of which the other half were allotted to the false attack to be led by Captain Knox. Each of the three attacks was to be ready on their respective ground before midnight; when, as soon as the false commenced on the west side, the real, and the Rajah's were likewise to begin. As no counter-attempt was apprehended, the guard of the camp was left to some of the Rajah's troops. The attack with Captain Knox having farther to go, marched off first; the main attack was in three divisions, of which the Europeans formed two, and the Sepoys the last;

but when they were to move, Captain Callender, who by his rank was to lead the first division of Europeans, was not to be found ; and after much search and enquiry, the troops proceeded without him, crossing the morass from the dry ground of sand directly opposite to the Cameleon, the bastion they were to storm. In the way they were joined by the gunners crossing the morass, likewise from the batteries, which for fear of surprize they did not quit until the last moment. But before the troops arrived at the ditch, they heard the firing of Knox's attack, which nevertheless had only begun at the appointed time ; on which all marched as fast as they could, as before up to the knees in mire, and in crossing the ditch, up to the middle in water and mud. Here they were discovered just before they got to the pallisade on the berm ; and whilst the first division, commanded by Captain Fischer, were tearing it up, which took several minutes, the enemy gathered on the breach, and began likewise to fire cannon and musketry from the next bastions, the Saint John's on the right, and that called the small-gate on the left. The opposition only encreased the ardour of the assailants, and whilst the first division of Europeans with Fischer were gaining the breach, the second, commanded by Yorke, fired up against St. John's and the division of Sepoys led by Macleane against the small gate. Several were killed before Fischer's division had mounted, and got possession of the Cameleon ; when, having waited until Yorke's came up, they turned and advanced along the rampart to the left, to get possession of the small gate. There was a handy gun, with its ammunition, on the Cameleon, which Yorke, on the suggestion of Captain Moran, who discovered it, ordered the gunners to turn and fire along the rampart towards the Sound, and in the mean time prepared his division to follow the same direction, as soon as a number of Sepoys sufficient to maintain the bastion were come up the breach ; but, just as he was setting off, he perceived a line of Sepoys coming along in the way below, between the foot of the rampart and the buildings of the town : they were sent to reinforce the Cameleon from the arsenal near the Sound, where Conflans continued waiting the event with the grenadier company and other troops. Yorke immediately ran down, and seizing

1759 ing the French officer at the head of the Sepoys, bid him order them
 April. to lay down their arms and surrender ; which they obeyed with little reluctance, and were sent up to the bastion. Yorke, having observed that the way below was free from interruption, and much broader than the rampart above, resolved to march along it, to get possession of the rest of the defences allotted to his attack ; his division accordingly came down, excepting a few left with the prisoners, and the artillery-men with the gun. The guard of the next bastion, St. John's, had sheltered themselves within the angles, from the infilade of the gun ; they were 20 Europeans, and more Sepoys, who, as soon as Yorke's division came under the bastion, advanced to the edge of the rampart, fired down upon them, which killed several and wounded more, and then cried out, that they would surrender. Yorke generously spared the return of their fire : their arms were gathered, and they were conducted by a party to the Cameleon, where the Sepoys were in reserve, who reinforced the party, which was posted to secure the St. John's. The division then marched on, and when under the Dutch bastion, received the fire of the guard, scattered indeed, but with equal iniquity followed by the immediate offer of surrender, which was accepted with the same humanity as before, and the bastion and men secured by parties from the division, and the reserve. These interruptions had allowed the division time to think and expect more, and many shewed much unwillingness to go on ; for darkness covers shame ; however, they yielded to the threats and exhortations of Captain Yorke ; but had not advanced many paces beyond the Dutch bastion, before they passed a small brick building close to the rampart, which fear or curiosity led some to examine. It was an extensive magazine of ammunition, and one unluckily cried out, a mine : this word struck the whole division with terror, and all instantly ran back to the Cameleon (the officers accompanying to reclaim them), and Captain Yorke, who marched at the head, was left alone, with only two drummers, who were black boys, beating the grenadiers' march, which they continued ; but in vain, for none rejoined : on which Captain Yorke went back, and found all his men in much confusion

at the bastion, some even proposing to go out of the breach and quit the fort. Severity was instantly necessary, and Yorke, as soon as on the bastion, threatened to put the first man to death who offered to come near the breach; on which some of the soldiers who had served with him in Adlervron's regiment, and had enlisted in the Company's service, cried out that their commander was ill used, and offered to follow him wheresoever he pleased: their number immediately increased to 36, with whom he marched off, leaving the rest to follow, as the officers could bring them on. The length of this interruption, joined to the preceding, had given the French officer at the next bastion, the François, which stands on the edge of the Sound, time to get down a gun loaded with grape-shot and to point it up the way the party was coming; it fired when they were within a few yards, and with great execution, killing several and wounding sixteen. Captain Yorke fell, with a ball through each of his thighs, and each of the black drummers was killed dead at his side. This havock, however, did not discourage the rest from bringing off their Captain, whom they carried to the Cameleon; and the guards, posted in the St. Jean and Dutch bastions, not dismayed, kept their ground, waiting the event.

During these efforts of the left division, the right, commanded by Captain Fischer, was advancing from the Cameleon to the right, but along the rampart. The next, which is the small gate, was not in complete repair; and the Sepoys with Macleane were attempting to scramble up it, which, with the approach of Fischer's division, drove the guard away to the next bastion, called the Church-yard, from which they fired continually, but without order, as the division approached; and when near, asked quarter, which was granted.

Colonel Forde continued with the reserve, on the bastion of St. Jean, issuing the necessary orders, according to the reports from both divisions. The prisoners as fast as taken were brought to him there, and he sent them, as they came, down the breach, into the ditch, where they were guarded as well as the night permitted by a proper

1759 number of Sepoys, threatening at the point of bayonet to kill the first that moved ; but very few of them ventured any disturbance.
 April. The Rajah's troops had for some time begun their attack on the ravelin on the causeway, and, if nothing more, with much din and clamour ; but the fire of the false attack with Captain Knox continually diminished ; as having begun earlier, they had expended most of their ammunition, although, finding the enemy prepared in this quarter, they only fired across without venturing to pass the quagmire. However, this attack kept some of the garrison from the more material service against the real, and the Rajah's prevented the guard at the ravelin from returning into the fort, which they ought to have done, as being of little use without the walls, whilst the body of the place was in instant danger. But the separation of the main attack into two divisions, confounded the defence much more than the attacks without. Mr. Conflans, not knowing what to do, kept at his house near the Sound, continually receiving messages magnifying the danger, and sending orders which new reports continually induced him to contradict.

The parade of the fort was under the bastion of the great gate, and as this is the usual place of rendezvous on alarm, most of the troops and officers who remained willing to continue the defence, whether driven from their posts, or wanting immediate orders, repaired hither, and had joined the guard of the bastion above, before Fischer's division was ready to advance from that of the church-yard. Near 100 were assembled, but their fire began before the division was sufficiently near, which preserved theirs, and only giving that of the first platoon, rushed on, and soon cleared the bastion. Fischer immediately sent down to secure the gate below, which shut out the troops on the ravelin, and prevented the escape of any from within. Whilst the division was getting into order to proceed again, appeared Captain Callender, no one knew from whence, and taking the command, marched at their head towards the next bastion, called the Pettah, from which came scattering shot, scarcely more than one at a time, and the last that dropped, shot Callender dead ; immediately after which the fire of the garrison

garrison in all other parts of the fort ceased, and soon after came a message from Colonel Forde, ordering Fischer's division to cease likewise, as Mr. Conflans had surrendered. He had sent a message offering to capitulate on honourable terms; to which Forde answered, that he would give none, but at discretion, nor even this; but would put every man to the sword, if all did not instantly surrender.

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On the return of the officer, Mr. Conflans sent orders round for the troops to quit their arms, and repair to his quarters at the arsenal, which is a spacious enclosure. As soon as all was quiet, the English troops assembled on the parade, under the bastion of the gate-way; and 100 Europeans, with two guns, and two companies of Sepoys, were detached to remain on guard over the prisoners until the morning; when, whatsoever troops were at the ravelin, and the battery at the inlet, and had not escaped, came into the fort, to become prisoners with the rest of the garrison. The whole number exceeded the assailants, being 500 Europeans; of whom 100 were either officers or inhabitants of better condition, and 2537 either Coffrees, Topasses, or Sepoys. Of the assailants, 22 Europeans were killed, amongst them the Captains Callender and Mollitore, and 62 wounded. Of the Sepoys, who behaved with equal gallantry as the Europeans, as well in the real, as at the false attacks, 50 were killed, and 150 wounded. The Rajah's people likewise suffered more than was expected from them; but nothing in proportion to the English troops. The fort was furnished with 120 pieces of cannon, and abundance of military stores. The plunder of other effects was likewise valuable; and all that was not merchandize was given back to the prisoners; half the rest was divided amongst the English army, and the other half reserved for them according to the promise they had received.

The improbability of the attempt was the principal cause of its success, for the garrison from the beginning had regarded the siege with mockery, and, being in daily expectation of the arrival of a body of troops which were coming by sea from Pondicherry, had concerted, that the army of observation, joined by this reinforcement, and

1759 and a great detachment, if not the whole of Salabadjing's army, should then surround and attack the English army, which they represented to themselves as involved in impending and inevitable destruction; and indeed, if these efforts had been made by Salabadjing's army, and the French troops abroad, without waiting for the reinforcement, the English army could not have kept their ground, since the Rajah, with all his troops, would certainly have run away, and the enemy's horse, amongst whom were many Morattoes, would have cut off all provisions, and harrassed every motion: nor could they have made the embarkation, to escape by sea, without abandoning all the stores and artillery.

The ministry of Salabadjing were therefore not more surprized, than vexed, at the loss of the place, because, conscious that it might have been prevented by the activity they had neglected to exert. They held councils with the French commander of the army of observation, and determined still to wait for the reinforcement; when they expected at least to reduce the English to compound for their retreat by the surrender of Masulipatam. The Rajah Anunderauze, divining what might happen, proposed to return to his own country, as soon as the place was taken; and Colonel Forde, from utter contempt of his character, made no objections to his departure; he marched away with all the Indian forces on the 12th, to regain the Godaveri; and, by hasty marches, was, in two days, out of the reach of pursuit.

Early in the morning of the 15th appeared two ships, standing into the road, under French colours. The commander of the Hardwicke, Samson, was ashore embarking prisoners, of whom he had already received 40 on board: but his brother, who was the chief mate, immediately weighed, and got to windward of the strange ships; on which the largest anchored in the road, as did the Hardwicke at a distance; but the other still plying up, the Hardwicke weighed again, as did the largest ship, and the wind having changed, both of the enemy's bore down, with a fair sail; in the mean time, Captain Samson with eight gunners lent from the army,
got

got on board, and determining not to run, before he had tried the strength of the ships, waited to exchange a broadside, which discovering them to be stouter than his own, he again hauled the wind, and working more dexterously got again out of their reach, but continued in the offing. The two French ships anchored again in the road, and in the night sent a catamaran, which they had brought with them, on shore, with letters to Mr. Conflans, signifying, that they were the *Harlem* and *Bristol* from Pondicherry, with 300 troops Europeans and Topasses, besides the crews: they were the aid of which advices had been received before. No answer being returned, they suspected the loss of the place, and early the next morning stood out again after the *Hardwicke*, which bore away for Bengal, and before noon all three were out of sight.

The army of Salabadjing was at this time within 15 miles of Masulipatam; and imagining, that the French ships would return to land the troops, sent forward all the Morattoes towards the shore. Colonel Forde, notwithstanding the great number of prisoners which were to be guarded, divided his force, and leaving half in the fort to take care of them, encamped with the other on the ground he had occupied before. This countenance kept the Morattoes out of cannon-shot, but they burnt and slew all around for several days; when Salabadjing, seeing no probability of retaking Masulipatam, began to treat in earnest; and Colonel Forde went to his camp, and was received with much attention.

But another motive of equal weight concurred to induce this change in Salabadjing's disposition towards the English. Some account of the assassination of Mr. Bussy's Duau, and of Nizamally's flight to Brampour, had reached Bengal before the departure of the present expedition; and Clive, judging that the atrocity of the injury which Nizamally had committed would carry his detestation of the French nation beyond the reach of, or wish of reconciliation, wrote letters to him, requesting his assistance to the army with Colonel Forde in exterminating the French out of the provinces they had dismembered from the sovereignty of the Decan. Colonel Forde dispatched these letters, with his own to the same purport, and Nizamally

1759 zamally had received them: whether they contributed to influence his
 immediate operations we are uncertain ; but as soon as he was certi-
 fied that Salabadjing was marching against the English army to
 April. Masulipatam, he took the field with his own from Aurengabad,
 advancing towards Hyderabad, and giving out, that he intended to
 reform the administration. The news of his intentions, which pre-
 ceded the advices of his march, alarmed Salabadjing for the preser-
 vation of Hyderabad itself, and made him not only anxious to return
 thither as soon as possible, but desirous of being accompanied by a
 body of English troops ; fearing, that if he entertained the French
 army of observation, all reconciliation with his brother Nizamally
 would be precluded. Nevertheless the influence which the com-
 mander of these troops had gained over his brother Bassalutjung
 who managed the most important affairs of the government, de-
 layed the execution of his treaty with Colonel Forde until the 12th
 of May, on which day it was signed, and delivered.

The treaty consisted of four articles. By the first ; The whole territory dependant on Masulipatam, with eight districts, as well as the jurisdiction over the territory of Mizamapatam, with the districts of Codaver and Wacalmannar, were granted to the English without the reserve of fine or military service. By the second article, Salabadjing promised to oblige the French troops, meaning the army of observation, to pass the Kristna in 15 days ; nor, in future, to permit the nation to have any settlement in the country of the Decan, which this treaty defines to be bounded on the south, by the Kristna ; nor to entertain any French troops in his service, nor to give them assistance, or ever call them again to his own. By the third, he promised not to call Anunderauze to account for whatsoever he had collected out of the governments belonging to the French, nor for the tributes of his own countries for the present year ; but he was hereafter to pay the same for them as had been paid by Vizeramrauze, and the father of Vizeramrauze. If Anunderauze failed in this stipulation, Salabadjing was left free to treat him as he pleased : but in all cases was neither to assist, or give protection to the enemies of the English ; and by the 4th article, the English engage neither to assist, or give protection to his. The territory ceded to the

the company extended 80 miles along the sea, and 20 inland, and the revenues amounted to 400,000 rupees a year.

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As soon as the treaty was signed, Salabadjing offered Colonel Forde a district near Masulipatam, as a jaghire or pension for himself, if he would accompany him with part of the English troops against his brother Nizamally. Colonel Forde, with as much earnestness, requested his assistance to take or destroy the French army of observation, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, avowedly under the protection of Bassaulet Jung. Neither side had the least inclination to gratify the other, and Salabadjing on the 18th marched away in much disgust with the English, to whom he had confirmed, without any reciprocal benefit, the most advantageous acquisition of its extent, they could wish to gain, with the view of maintaining, on the whole coast of Coromandel from Ganjam to Cape Comorin. The body of French troops crossed the Kristna, but marched to the westward, in consequence of assurances from Bassaulet Jung to take them into his service, when he should return from Hyderabad to his own Government of Adoni. The Presidency of Madrass considered Masulipatam as dependant on their authority, and appointed Mr. Andrews, with a council, to manage the revenue and trade: and Colonel Forde remained there with the troops, in expectation of orders for his future proceedings from the Presidency of Bengal.

Mr. Lally, with the French army, was in full march after the English, when he received the news at Trivatore that they had taken Conjeveram, on which he halted; but sent forward the partisan Lambert, with the body of troops he commanded apart from the army, who posted themselves seven miles from the English, in the road to Arcot, in order to prevent the incursions of their cavalry into those districts; but the English army had no intention to ravage a country they intended to recover. Lambert's party consisted of 300 either Topasses or Europeans, unfit for the regular battalions, about 700 Sepoys, and 200 horse. They had been detached whilst the two armies some time before were facing one another at Conjeveram, to retaliate on Kistnarow, the Killidar of Thiagar, the ravages he

1759 had committed in the adjacencies of Pondicherry, and to retake the ^{April.} forts which he and Mahomed Issoof had reduced whilst the French army were preparing on the other side of the Paliar to attack Madrass. In the middle of March, he set down before Elavanasore, which Kistnarow, leaving his rock of Thiagar, resolved to defend in person; continual skirmishes passed between them for ten days, when Lambert, seeing no probability of taking the place without battering cannon, of which he had nine, marched away, and set down before Trivatore; where likewise were some Sepoys left by Mahomed Issoof, and some of Kistnarow's, who were very near surrendering, when Lambert, with his whole detachment, was recalled to the main army; which on the 19th advanced to Covrepauk, where they took up their quarters, still keeping Lambert's party between them and the English, which continued at Conjeveram, and threw up redoubts in their front, and on their flanks.

Soon after the detachment of Gopaulrow's Morattoes had taken possession of Tripetti, he received orders from Balagerow at Poni to return and join him there without delay; lest he should be stopped by the floods of the Kristna, which swells in May. He accordingly recalled all his parties, excepting a small detachment left to guard Tripetti, under the command of an officer named Narrain Sastry, and the main body marched away from the passes of Damalcherri, in the beginning of April. At the same time, Abdulwahab, the Nabob's brother, was permitted to return with his troops, to Chandererry; from whence he sent them against Tripetty, of which they got possession after a slight resistance: he then requested the Presidency to grant him the farm of the pagoda; but as his rank exempted him from controul, the Presidency let it to the same renters as were holding it when taken by the French, by whom they had likewise been continued in the management.

Three companies of Sepoys sent from Tritchinopoly joined Kistnarow soon after Lambert's party was recalled from the south, with whom and his own troops Kistnarow immediately took the field again, and ravaged

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ravaged as far as Trivadi, within 14 miles of Pondicherry, and from thence to Cuddalore, where, since the reduction of Fort St. David, the French kept a garrison. Some bad troops were sent from both, and the adjacent districts, to oppose him, and having amongst them 30 Europeans, and he none, excepting the serjeants of the Sepoys, the enemy attacked him with confidence, and were decisively beaten. Ten of their Europeans, and a great number of their country troops, were killed. Of the English Sepoys 30, and nine of Kistnarow's people; but the enemy left behind them three pieces of cannon, a tumbril, and 30 barrels of ammunition, which he carried away in triumph to Thiagar; and from thence sent back the English Sepoys to Tritchinopoly. This success was gained in the beginning of May.

A few days after the reduction of Conjeveram, intelligence was received, that the garrison of Sepoys at Palamcotah, in the country of Tinivelly, had ventured to stand an engagement in the field against Maphuze Khan and the Pilitaver, joined by most of the other Polygars, and, although the enemy quitted the field, so many of the Sepoys were killed and wounded, that the garrison could no longer appear out of the fort. It had before been resolved to send Mahomed Issoof into the southern countries, as soon as the army in the field could be diminished without risque; of which, the caution of the French army at Covrepauk to avoid even the chance of skirmishes, and the departure of the Morattoes with Gopaulrow, who might have joined them, no longer left any apprehensions. The troops of Tanjore and Tondiman were therefore ordered to return, with Mahomed Issoof's detachment, and the whole body were to pass by Vicravandi and Trivadi, in order to assist Kistnarow in ravaging the French districts in the way. They set out together on the 26th of April: the detachment with Mahomed Issoof was six companies of Sepoys, 60 of the horse, and six of the European gunners he brought with him, and two field-pieces: the Tanjorines were 300 horse; and Tondiman's troops 250, with 1100 Colleries. After the first day's march, the troops of Tanjore and Tondiman declared they would not expose themselves to the risque of passing through

1759 the enemy's districts, nor of crossing the Coleroon near them. ^{May.} Ma-
homed Issoof, impatient to arrive at his destination, yielded to, if he did not suggest, their repugnance, and consented to go the way they chose. Accordingly, they all quitted the straight road to the south, and striking to the west, passed by Arnee, and entered the mountains about nine miles south of Velore: then continuing along the valley of Vaniambady, they came out at another pass near Tricalore, and burning seven or eight villages under the fort which were held by the French renters, they arrived at Thiagar on the 8th of May, where Kistnarow was returned from his excursion to Trivadi. The Tanjorines and Tondimans, thinking the rest of the country from Thiagar safe, proceeded home more like travellers than troops: but Mahomed Issoof's detachment marched on in regular order to Tritchinopoly, where they arrived on the 14th; and, on the 16th, having taken leave of the Nabob, he continued his march to Madura.

Nothing could testify more confidence than the dismission of such a number of troops in the face of the enemy. Their distresses for every kind of supply, and for want even of their pay, after they arrived at Covrepauk, deferred Mr. Lally from trusting their goodwill in action, until he could satisfy their complaints. For this purpose, he went to Arcot, and, having detected various frauds in the management of the Amuldar or renter, who farmed the districts, fined him 40,000 rupees; and he received 10,000 from Mortizally of Velore, with the promise of some provisions, to refrain from molesting his domain. But before he had procured these aids, he received news, that the English squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, and three frigates, had arrived on the 28th of April at Negapatam, from Bombay. Their appearance, whilst the French army was at such a distance, alarmed the garrison at Karical, and even Pondicherry itself; but not Mr. Lally, who, on the contrary, thought it requisite to shew better countenance, and, having satisfied immediate wants with the money he had obtained, marched on the 6th of May with the whole army from Covrepauk, and encamped

camped the next day at Balchitty's choultry, seven miles to the west of Conjeveram. The situation they chose was strong, and the country being quite level, the advanced guards of the two armies were in sight of each other.

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An exchange of prisoners had been some time before agreed on, and 100 of those taken at Fort St. David arrived at Chinglapet from Pondicherry on the 6th, which enabled the Presidency of Madrass to reinforce their army with that number, although of other Europeans: but the French could not immediately receive an equal advantage, because their prisoners were released from Trichinopoly, and had to march from thence to Pondicherry. Colonel Brereton fell at this time dangerously ill, and with much regret was obliged to be carried into Madrass, when the command devolved to Colonel Monson, the next officer in the king's regiment, who immediately made preparation, and on three successive days, from the 12th to the 15th, drew the army out of the lines, offering the enemy battle in the plain; but the ground of their encampment was too strong to be attacked by an equal force. By this time, the resources of money and provisions which Mr. Lally had lately procured were nearly exhausted, and the soldiery renewed their complaints, which most of the officers, from personal hatred to himself, were little solicitous to repress. Knowing their discontent, he would not venture the battle he otherwise wished, (for he was always brave and impetuous, and had 2000 Europeans in the field,) before he had tried how far their prejudices might influence their duty: and made several motions, tending to no great consequence, which convinced him, that, in their present mood, they would not fight with ardour under his command. The English army, ignorant of the motives, were much surprized to see the whole of the French quitting their encampment on the 15th, and in march towards Trivatore. From hence they were disposed into different cantonments. Parties were sent to Arcot, Covrepauk, and Carangoly, 200 Europeans to Chittapet, 400 with the field artillery to Vandiwash; 1200, with 100 European horse, marched to Pondicherry, whither Mr. Lally likewise went, resolved

1759 resolved not to meet the English again in force, until the arrival of
 May. the French squadron, which was daily expected with reinforcements.
 On the 28th, the English army was distributed into cantonments at Chinglapet, Conjeveram, Stree Permadore, and Muslewack, which, with the forts of Pondamalée and Tripassore, formed a barrier from the river Paliar to Pulicate. The French had some time before withdrawn their troops from Sadrass, and restored the fort and town to the Dutch.

Thus ended this campaign, after it had lasted 100 days, during which of 8 or 10,000 men in arms, not five were killed. But the principal object of both sides was to protect their respective territory, and not to risk an engagement without positive advantage, which neither gave.

Mr. Lally carried with him to Pondicherry more resentment than ever against the governor, the council, and all who were employed in the civil administration of the company's affairs; imputing to their malversations all the obstacles and impediments which obstructed the success of his arms. The council, he alledged, received presents from the renters of all the districts, who, emboldened by the knowledge of their peculations, continually evaded the regular payments, or insisted on remissions in the terms of their leases: and whilst the public treasury was thus disappointed or defrauded of its incomes, its issues he insisted were squandered with equal prodigality, because the council and their dependants held shares in all the supplies for the public service, whether in the camp or city. Something of these accusations might be true; but Mr. De Leyrit, the governor, was a man of distinguished moderation and equity; and other members of the council were likewise men of worth, superior to such practices; but all who were not, sheltered their own characters under the public disbelief of the calumnies against those who were guiltless of the delinquencies imputed to them: and all knowing Mr. Lally's aversion to Mr. Bussy, who had remained ill at Pondicherry since the siege of Madrass, paid particular court to his person and character, and continually expressed their regrets at the indiscretion of the ministry in Farnce appointing Mr. Lally to the supreme

supreme command in India, when they had it in their power to 1759
have employed an officer of such approved and successful services as ^{July.}
Mr. Bussy.

As soon as the main body of the French army arrived at Pondicherry, 60 Europeans were sent to Karical; against which place, from its distance and situation on the sea-shore, although a regular fortification, Mr. Lally always apprehended a descent from the English squadron. Another party was prepared to attack Kistnarow, whose ravages had greatly impaired the revenues expected from the adjacent districts; but did not take the field until the 24th, which gave time to Captain Joseph Smith, at Tritchinopoly, to send three companies of Sepoys, under the command of Hunterman, the serjeant-major of the garrison, who arrived at Thiagar before the French party; which thereupon returned to Trivadi: where they remained waiting for detachments until they were strengthened to 200 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, 40 Hussars, 500 black horse, and eight guns, and where likewise joined by the matchlocks and peons of the French districts: when, by forced marches, they suddenly invested Elavanasore on the 5th of July; and took it by assault on the 11th. Kistnarow himself was in Thiagar; his gallantry, and the importance of the place, which protected all the districts southward toward Tritchinopoly, determined Captain Smith to make an effort for their preservation, which the strength of his garrison could ill afford. Forty Europeans, with three guns, and six companies of Sepoys, marched under the command of Lieutenant Raillard, a Swiss, and before they reached Volcondah were joined by 1000 horse, which the Nabob had levied since his arrival at Tritchinopoly, intending to employ them in the Madura and Tinivelly countries, which he expected would have been left to his management. Kistnarow, on hearing of the march of Raillard's detachment, came out of Thiagar with all his horse, and some Sepoys, in the night of the 12th, and the next day joined him at Volcondah. Serjeant Hunterman, with the rest of the three companies of Sepoys he had brought, and what foot Kistnarow usually kept in Thiagar, remained to defend it, until his return with the reinforcement. At break

1759 break of day on the 14th, the whole body of the French troops, ^{July.} now commanded by the Viscount Fumel, who had made a forced march in the night from Elavanasore, appeared before the pettah at the bottom of the rock, and investing it on every side on the plain, brought two guns against the two opposite gates on the north and south, and disposed two parties to escalade in other places. The fight was every where sharp; both the escalades and the attack on the north gate were repulsed; but after two hours, the enemy forced the other, and brought their guns into the town, and Hunterman, still unwilling to give up, had nearly been cut off in his retreat to the gateway of the passage leading up to the fort above, which he however gained, having lost one-third of his Sepoys; but the enemy more, having 200 of theirs, and 30 Europeans killed and wounded. They had scarcely disposed their guards, when their scouts brought word, that the troops with Ralliard and Kistnarow were approaching, and were within a few miles; on which Fumel, with the impetuosity of his nation on success, marched out with most of the troops, but without the field-pieces; and met the English, who were advancing fast on the plain within two miles from the fort. Ralliard, thinking the advantage of his two field-pieces greater than it really was, halted his line to cannonade, which the enemy stood; and, instead of coming on as Ralliard expected, waited till their own, which were five, came up, when they fired amongst the Nabob's cavalry, and knocked down several; on which the whole of this dastardly body went off, and left the infantry unflanked. Ralliard and Kistnarow were in this instant riding towards the cavalry, to lead them up to the enemy's; and, hurried by vexation, followed in hopes of rallying them, and left the infantry without command; against whom the enemy, seeing the horse going off, advanced to the push of bayonet. There was, not far in the rear of the English line, a village, in which the oxen with the ammunition and the stores were waiting; and the gunners, thinking it a safe station to secure the field-pieces, turned, and began to draw them off as fast as they could, thinking they should be covered by the rest of the infantry; who, confused by these various appearances of terror in others, took panic

panic themselves, and broke, before the enemy's Europeans were at their breasts ; and all instantly fell under the sabres of their black cavalry : meanwhile the exhortations of Ralliard and Kistnarow were vain to retain the Nabob's, who went off on the full gallop in the road to Tritchinopoly. All the Europeans were killed, or made prisoners : all the Sepoys threw down their arms, and suffered more as the enemy did not think them worth taking, and only 200 of them got back to Tritchinopoly. Kistnarow, seeing all lost, followed the Nabob's cavalry ; Ralliard rode back to the enemy, discharged his pistols at the first he met, and then galloped out of their reach. He was afterwards found dead five miles from the field of action ; his head and breast bruised with violent strokes of his pistol, under which he is supposed, as he had neither cartridges nor sword, to have expired, and to have inflicted this severe, but needless execution on himself, to avoid the disgrace of his defeat. The enemy returned to Thiagar, and summoned Kistnarow's officer in the upper fort to surrender, who, encouraged by Serjeant Hunterman, refused ; which obliged them to send to Chittapet and Vandiwash, for three mortars, and more Europeans. They fired and bombarded the rock until the 25th ; when Hunterman, having nearly expended all the ammunition, capitulated to 600 Europeans, and obtained honourable terms for the whole garrison, Kistnarow's people as well as the English Sepoys ; all being permitted to march away with their arms, their persons without search, their baggage on oxen, and under an escort of French troops to the distance they chose : the artillery only excepted. The gallantry of Hunterman was rewarded with an Ensign's commission.

Nothing of consequence had passed between the two armies since they went into cantonments, except reciprocal excursions of small parties to drive off cattle, of which the English collected 5 or 6000. The French garrison in the fort of Arcot consisted of 60 Europeans and six companies of Sepoys : and being as ill paid as the rest of the troops, the Sepoys made overtures to Colonel Monson, proffering to deliver up the fort for a reward in money. At the same time, the Kellidar of Covrepauk, in which were only ten Europeans, and he

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1759 of Timery, who had none, offered likewise to sell their forts. Timery, from its distance, was not deemed worth the purchase ; but ^{July.} the reputation of Arcot, and the communication with it by Covrepauk, induced the Presidency to accept the terms of these forts, although costly. But the Sepoys at Arcot, when the day of execution approached, confessed that they could not succeed ; and a few days after 200 Europeans were sent into the fort from Vandiwash, but not, as it seemed, from any suspicion of the plot. However, their march stopped the bargain with Covrepauk.

Narain Sastry, the Morattoe officer, whom Abdulwahab had driven from Tripetty, took up his residence in Carcambaddy, a town in the hills, 15 miles distant, belonging to a petty Polygar, subject to a greater called the Matlaver, with whose assistance he raised forces, mostly such as were to be found in those wilds ; and in the night of the 30th of June, by a bye-path in the mountain of Tripetty, got possession of the temple on the summit. The troops maintained by the renter, and two companies of Sepoys with Ensign Wilcox, were in the town below, which commands the usual path of the pilgrims to the pagoda. Narain Sastry therefore waited for another force, which the Matlaver was to send ; when one from the rock, and the other from the plain, were to surprize the town. They accordingly made the attack on the 9th of July at four in the morning ; and, after skirmishing an hour, were beaten off, with the loss of 20 men killed and wounded ; but the Morattoes still kept possession of the pagoda. A few days after, the town was reinforced by the Presidency of Madrass, with three companies of Sepoys, 15 Europeans, and a small gun. None but Indians, and they of the better castes, are permitted to ascend the hill on which the pagoda stands ; for the Bramins pretend, that if the summit should be trodden by forbidden feet, all the virtue of the pagoda in the remission of sins would be lost, until restored by an immense purification. Not apprized of this creed, the Sepoys sent by the Presidency were as usual a mixture of Mahomedans and various castes of Indians, so that out of the six hundred, only 80 were worthy to mount to the assault : and the Europeans were utterly excluded. The renter nevertheless

nevertheless, with the 80 Sepoys, and ~~12~~ peons and matchlocks, 1759
in all not exceeding 500 men, ventured to attack the enemy in pos-
session of the pagoda, and was repulsed with loss, but the blood shed
in the attack did not unsanctify the pagoda. July.

In the latter part of June, three of the usual ships arrived from England, with 200 recruits, sent by the Company; and brought intelligence, that the 84th regiment of 1000 men, in the king's service, were coming in other ships, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Coote, the same officer whom we have seen serving in Bengal with the rank of Major; he was appointed to the command of the Company's troops in Bengal; but with permission to stop and serve with his regiment, if more necessary, on the coast of Coromandel. The satisfaction arising from this intelligence was in some measure impaired by a resolution of the Court of directors; who, dazzled by the wealth acquired in Bengal from the revolution of Plassy, and by representations of its sufficiency to supply their other presidencies, had determined to send no more treasure to any of them until the year 1760; but, for every reason this intelligence was kept within the council.

At this time likewise, 200 English prisoners were received from Pondicherry, in exchange for the same number of French released at Tritchinopoly; but more than one half of the English were seamen, taken in the frigates stranded at St. David's, and other vessels; who were immediately sent away to the squadron, which was cruizing to the southward. However, these additions to the army enabled the Presidency to extend their attention to objects they had been obliged to neglect, in order to make head in the adjacencies of Madrass: and 90 Europeans, of whom 20 were invalids, and the others not the best men, were sent to Tritchinopoly, proceeding by sea to Negapatam, and from thence through the country of Tanjore.

Three companies of Sepoys had been sent to bring away as many of the French prisoners as they could guard from Masulipatam. As the sea was adverse, they marched by land, and were joined on the road by 100 horse of Nazeabulla's, from Nelore. They arrived at

1759 Masulipatam on the 1st of June, and on the 15th began their march back with 200 of the prisoners; but on the 3d day were recalled by Colonel Forde, in consequence of intelligence which threatened their farther progress with danger.

The Subah Salabadjing, on his return from Masulipatam, halted within four days of Hyderabad, and commenced a negotiation with his brother Nizamally. An interview ensued, which was followed by a reconciliation, and concluded by the restoration of Nizamally to the same extensive powers in the government of the Decan, which had excited the apprehensions of Mr. Bussy, and the mortal hatred of both to each other, in the beginning of the preceding year. This revolution in the administration deprived Bassaulet Jung, the other brother, of all his power; which had been considerable as Duan, and little controled by the indolence of Salabadjing. He therefore marched away in seeming disgust with his brothers; but with most against the ablest; and took with him the troops which had formed Conflans' army of observation. They were 200 Europeans, and the 2000 Sepoys under the command of Zulfacar Jung: his own were 1500 good horse, and 5000 foot of various sorts, with a train of heavy artillery. They recrossed the Kristna, summoning acknowledgments, and plundering the country; and when Bonjour's detachment, set out from Masulipatam, were arrived at Condavire, within 50 miles of the road of his march. From hence, Bassaulet Jung, and his principal officers, sent forward threatening letters to Nazeabulla at Nelore, and the three greater Polygars, as well as all the lesser ones along the Pennar, ordering them to account for their shares of the tribute with the arrears, due to the throne through the officiality of the Subah of the Decan, by whom Bassaulet Jung pretended he was commissioned to call them to account; and, as a more effectual terror, gave out, that he should pass through their countries, in order to join the French at Arcot. The style of his letters, and still more his approach, had deterred Nazeabulla, as well as the northern Polygars, from giving any assistance to the English in recovering the mountain of Tripetti; although all applied to Madrass for assistance to defend themselves. This consternation was strong, when the renter was repulsed in the attack

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attack of the mountain ; and, on the news of his ill success, 200 of the black horse, with three companies of Sepoys, were sent from the army at Conjeveram to Tripassore, where they would be in readiness either to succour the renter, Nazebullah, the Polygars, or to march on to join Bonjour's detachment, if returning. But this party was scarcely arrived at Tripassore, when the presidency received intelligence from Ensign Wilcox, that a detachment of Europeans, Sepoys, and horse, sent from Arcot to Narrain Sastry, were marching round the hills, in order to attack the troops in the town of Tripetti ; which if they should take, the revenues of the approaching feast in September would be lost, and the recovery of the pagoda, resisted by French troops, rendered hereafter much more difficult ; whereas, in the present state, Narrain Sastry in possession of the mountain, and the English of the town, neither at least could get any thing, excepting by a compromise. The importance of this object, and of the other concerns in this quarter, determined the presidency to send Major Calliaud, with 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. They arrived at Tripetti on the 8th of July ; but, as before, the re-inforcement of Sepoys furnished few of the right sort to attack the mountain. Calliaud therefore marched with the Europeans, four companies of Sepoys, and two guns, against Careambaddy, the way over hills and vallies, covered with wood, but inhabited by a people fit only for skulking attacks, although of no contemptible caste being entitled to the pagoda of Tripetti. They fired continually from the thickets and covers, and killed and wounded several of the line before they forced the first barrier. At the second, Major Calliaud with much difficulty got one of the guns upon a rock, which flanked the barrier, and the first discharge, loaded with grape, killed the Polygar and several of his men, after which the detachment met no farther resistance. They were seven hours gaining their way, and arrived at three in the afternoon at the Polygar's town ; which they found abandoned, burnt it down, and destroyed the adjoining plantations. The next day they returned to Tripetti, and Calliaud thinking the enemy in the mountain would be as much discouraged, as the renter's people were elated by this success, sent all the fit men of his Sepoys, who, with

1759 with the renter's, did not exceed six hundred, although Narrain ^{July.} Sausty had twice as many, to attack the pagoda again ; which the enemy, after skirmishing three hours, abandoned, and all ran away to take shelter in the hills of Matlaver. Four of the renter's men were killed, and 20 wounded. Every thing being thus quieted in the neighbourhood, and no farther tidings of the French party from Arcot, Calliaud set out on his return on the 18th with all the troops he had brought, excepting ten Europeans, whom he left with Wilcox.

No party of Europeans had marched from Arcot against Tripetti, and the report arose from the plundering excursion of some Sepoys and horse in the skirts of Bomerauze's country, to second a demand they were making on him of 60,000 rupees. Nevertheless the advices were so intirely credited at Madrass, that Colonel Brereton, without waiting to advise with the council, ordered Major Monson to move the army from Conjeveram towards Arcot, as nearer to succour whatsoever the enemy might intend to distress. They marched on the 5th ; and on the 7th in the morning appeared before Covrepauk, with two 18 and two 12-pounders. This fort is small, but well-built of stone, and has a wet ditch, which was in good order. Colonel Monson summoned the officer, more according to form than his own expectation of the answer he received, which was, that, if the garrison, whites and blacks, were permitted to retire to Arcot, the soldiers with their knapsacks, and the officers with their effects, the gate should be immediately delivered : the capitulation was transacted and concluded in less than an hour. This easy success, for the fort was worthy of breach, gave hopes that the French garrison of Arcot would not make all the defence they might ; and as the situation was equally near to Tripetti, the army advanced, and arrived in the city on the 9th. The garrison shewed good countenance, and their artillery was so superior, that nothing could be done, until the English army were supplied with a train from Madrass, before which the greatest part of the French army might arrive from their different cantonments to the relief of Arcot ; and for this reason, Major Monson, before he received the orders of the

the presidency, marched back to Conjeveram ; but left 400 Europeans of the Company's troops in Covrepauk, which secured the ¹⁷⁵⁹ ~~venues~~ ^{July.} of the country between these two stations.

Mr. Pococke, waiting for the arrival of the French squadron, had continued with his own to windward of Pondicherry, mostly at Negapatam, where they were plentifully supplied with cattle by Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly, who caused them to be driven to the sea-coast, out of the observation of the king of Tanjore. In the end of June, a Danish vessel arriving at Tranquebar, reported, that 12 sail of French ships were in the bay of Trincanomaly in Ceylon ; on which, the whole squadron weighed on the 30th, and on the 3d of July came off the mouth of that harbour ; where they neither saw, nor gained any tidings of, the French ships. Mr. Pococke then cruized off the Fryar's Hood, the N. E. headland of the island, which all vessels coming to the coast of Coromandel at this season endeavour to make, and, in this station, met five of the expected ships from England, with the first division of Coote's regiment, with which he returned, and anchored on the 30th at Negapatam ; keeping them in company until the provisions and stores they had brought for the use of his squadron were taken out. The presidency received advices of their arrival on the 5th of August, and notwithstanding the various wants of men at this time for defence and attack on shore, requested Mr. Pococke to detain the troops, to serve with him in the expected engagement with the French squadron. Several advices had lately been received, that the Dutch government of Batavia, their captial in the East-Indies, were preparing an armament, which was to sail to the bay of Bengal ; and on the 8th six ships arrived at Negapatam, having left another in the bay of Trincanomaly. They had on board 500 European soldiers, and 1500 disciplined Malays, with abundance of military stores. Various reports and conjectures were formed of the destination of this force. The Dutch themselves gave out, that it was chiefly intended to reinforce their garrisons on the coast ; and their unavow'd emissaries reported, that the whole were to act as auxiliaries to the English against the French on the Coast of Coromandel. Mr. Pococke knew how

1759 how much the military force in Bengal had been diminished by the ^{July.} expedition to Masulipatam, and might suffer by the usual mortality of the climate ; and reasoning from the antipathy of the Dutch government to the great successes and power which the English had lately acquired in Bengal, suspected that the armament he saw was principally intended to reduce their influence in that country : and, with the spirit of considerate gallantry, and zeal for the general success of the public service, which on all occasions distinguished his command, sent all the troops to Madrass, recommending, that a part of them might be immediately forwarded to Bengal. They were all landed by the 25th, and marched in different parties, as soon as refreshed, to the main body at Conjeveram, where Colonel Brereton, having recovered from his illness, again took the command.

A few days after the return of Major Calliaud from Tripetti, the Polygar of Carcambaddy with his own, and a number of the Matlaver's people, began to repair the town ; on which Ensign Wilcox marched with the 25 Europeans, 300 of the Sepoys, and an iron three-pounder. They were galled the whole way, and obliged to force the three barriers in the path ; and when they came to the open spot of the town, where they expected no resistance, met the most, by a continual fire from the thickets round. Wilcox nevertheless persisted, and, being aimed at, received at once three musket-balls, and was mortally wounded. On which the troops put him into a dooley and retreated, likewise bringing off the gun. The enemy did not follow them earnestly ; so that the loss was only three Europeans killed, and 14 Sepoys wounded.

The French party of Sepoys and black horse from Arcot, had been beaten back by Bomerauze's people, and lay at Lallapet, near the mountains, 10 miles N. W. of Arcot, waiting an opportunity of renewing their incursion ; but were beaten up there on the 26th, by three companies of Sepoys, and the troops of the renter of Covrepauk, sent by Captain Wood, who commanded in the fort. The enemy fled at the first fire, leaving 70 muskets, and 17 horses, and the Sepoys remained to guard the nearest pass leading from Lallapet into Bomerauze's country.

Bassauet

Bassaulet Jung, with his army, had, in this while, continued his march from Condavire to the south, and, having passed Ongole, attacked the fort of Pollore, about 30 miles to the north of Nelore and the river Pennar, which, although out of the country of Damer-la-Venkytapah-naigue, was of his dependance. This success increased the fright of all the three polygars, and of Nazeabulla in Nelore ; and all renewed their applications to Madrass for immediate assistance, and the Tripetti renter was fully persuaded, that Bassaulet Jung intended to get possession of the pagoda, before the great feast, which begins in the middle of September, and generally produces 20,000*l.* ; and it was known that Bassaulet Jung was in strict correspondence with Pondicherry.

To these alarms on the north of the province, were added others in the south. The detachment with Fumel which had taken Thiagar had advanced as far as Volcondah, where, after many threats and messages, they had frightened the Kellidar out of 60,000 rupees ; and, during the negociation, their horse plundered as far as the straits of Utatoor. It was then reported, that Fumel intended to advance with the whole, and take possession of the island of Seringham, which would give them all the country between Thiagar and Tritchinopoly. This detachment could not be opposed in time from Madrass ; because the interjacent country was under the enemy's garrisons ; and whatsoever troops might be sent from hence, proceeding half way by sea against the monsoon, and then through the country of Tanjore, would not enter into action in less than six weeks, and then, if successful, would be out of the reach of recall. Tritchinopoly was the nearest station to make head against them ; but the whole garrison would not, in the field, have been equal to the force with Fumel.

Fortunately, in this concurrence of perplexities, the distresses and discontent of the French army had continued as urgent as ever, even after the expence of the campaign was diminished by their retreat into quarters. In the beginning of August, the whole of Lally's regiment, excepting the serjeants and corporals, and 50 of the soldiers, mutinied, and marched out of the fort of Chittapet, declaring, that they would not return to their colours, until they had

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1759 received their pay, of which many months was in arrears. Their
~~July.~~ officers, by furnishing their own money, and engaging their honour
 for more, brought them back, excepting 30, who dispersed about the
 country: but this defection, which the cause exempted from rigor-
 ous punishment, shook the discipline of the whole army.

From this view of circumstances, the Presidency of Madrass re-
 solved to leave something to chance in the extremities, rather than
 diminish the superiority, which their force had lately acquired in the
 center of the province, by the reinforcements arrived from Eng-
 land, and the enemy's detachment to the southward; and determined
 to employ this advantage immediately against Vandiwash, the most
 important of the enemy's stations between Madrass and Pondicherry.
 Accordingly 300 Europeans, with two twelve-pounders, and all the
 stores necessary for the attack, were sent to Chinglapet; but whilst
 on the road, and before the main body had moved from Conjeveram,
 arrived the Revenge, on the night of the tenth of September, with
 important intelligence from the squadron.

The Dutch at Negapatam, pretending that their armament from
 Batavia required the service of all their massoolah boats, would spare
 none to water the English ships; to procure which, Mr. Pococke
 sailed on the 20th with the squadron for Trinconamalée, where com-
 mon boats can ply to the shore. They anchored there on the 30th,
 but at the mouth of the harbour; and the Revenge was sent for-
 ward to cruize off the Friar's Hood. On the 2d of September, at
 ten in the morning, some ships were discovered to the s. E. Soon
 after came down the Revenge, chased and fired upon by one of the
 strangers, which denoted them to be the long-expected enemy. The
 English squadron weighed immediately, and could not get within
 cannon-shot of them by sun-set; but perceived that the number and
 strength of the ships greatly exceeded the force they had met the
 year before.

Mr. D' Aché having left the coast, as we have seen, on the 3d of
 September, arrived, after thirty days sail, at the Isle of France,
 and found in the port a reinforcement of three men of war, under
 the command of Mr. D' Eguille, an officer of experience and reputa-
 tion,

tion. Several of the company's vessels, but none of force, for enough had been sent before, were likewise arrived from France. The crews of all these ships amounted to 5500 men, and all the provisions which could be collected in the isles, or even drawn from Madagascar, with the supplies sent from Europe, were insufficient to feed this multitude, added to the numbers already in the colony, which they nearly equalled. Several councils were held on this distress, and it was at length determined to send one of the men of war, with eight of the Company's ships, which would take off between 3 and 4000 men, to the Cape of Good Hope, where they were to purchase provisions sufficient for the squadron in the ensuing voyage and, in the mean time, the crews would be supported without breaking in upon the general stock. These ships arrived off the Cape in the beginning of January ; and two of them had the luck to fall in with and take the Grantham, an English East-India ship, dispatched from Madrass in September. They purchased, but at a vast expence, a great quantity of meat, grain, and wine, and returned to the Isle of France in April and May ; after which, the strength of four of the Company's fighting ships, which had not hitherto mounted the number of guns they were built for, were armed to the full scale of their construction. These alterations, and other equipments, retarded the departure of the squadron until the 17th of July. They went first to the isle of Bourbon, and then to Foul-point, in the island of Madagascar, to take in some rice, and other provisions, which had been procured there ; and on the 30th of August arrived off Batacola, a port in Ceylon, 60 miles to the south of Trinconomaly ; where they received intelligence of the English squadron, and two days after came in sight of them off Point Pedras. The land and sea-winds differing in the same hours at different distances from the shore, the currents likewise various, squalls, a fog, and contrary courses whilst seeking each other when out of sight, kept them asunder, or out of immediate reach, until the 10th of September, when they again fell in with one another off Fort St. David. The French, being farthest out at sea, lay-to in a line of battle a-head, their heads to the East. The English having the wind came down a-breast, and at two in the afternoon were within

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1759 gun-shot, when each ship edged to get into their stations alongside of
September their allotted antagonists.

The English squadron consisted of nine ships of the line, attended by a frigate, the Queensborough, two of the Company's ships, and the Protector converted to a fire-ship. The French were 11 sail of the line, of which four were of the navy of France, and they had three frigates under their lee. Difference of sailing, and disappointment in working, prevented the English from forming their line with as much regularity as the enemy, who were waiting for them, drawn up in order of battle.

The French line was led by the Actif of 64, one of the King's ships. She was followed by the Minotaur, another of the King's, of 74, in which Mr. D'Aguille wore the flag of Rear-Admiral, and by much the stoutest ship in the squadron, having in her lower tier thirty-two-pounders, which in the French weight is equal to 40 English ; then stood three of the Company's ships, the Duc d'Orleans of 54, the Saint Louis of 56, and the Vengeur of 64. These five formed the van. M. D'Aché, in the Zodiaque, hoisted his flag in the center, supported by the Comte de Provence of 74 : the four others of the rear-division were the Duc de Bourgogne of 54, the Illustre of 64, the Fortunée of the same rate as the Illustre, and the Centaur of 68 ; of which only the Illustre was a King's ship. The Elizabeth of 64 led the English line, followed by the Newcastle of 50, the Tyger of 60, and the Grafton of 68, in which was Rear-Admiral Stevens : these four were the van. Mr. Pococke, in the Yarmouth of 66, was in the center, followed by the Cumberland now mounting only 58, the Salisbury of 50, the Sunderland of 60, and the Weymouth of 60 closed the rear. The total battery of the French squadron exceeded the English by 174 guns, and consequently by 87 in action.

The Grafton was the first ship up, and whilst presenting her broadside fell a-breast of the Zodiaque, whom Mr. Pococke, as in the two engagements of the last year, intended to reserve for himself. M. D'Aché immediately threw out the signal of battle, and began to fire on the Grafton, the first shot at 15 minutes after two ; but Mr. Stevens waited for the signal of his admiral, which did not appear

appear until five minutes after, when the Yarmouth was very near 1759 and ranged against the Comte de Provence. The firing then became general through both lines; but the Sunderland, the last but one of the English line, sailing very ill, kept back the Weymouth behind her. By this mischance the Salisbury, which was much the weakest ship, being only of 50 guns, and they only eighteen and nine-pounders, ranged, unsupported, against the September Illustre, and sustained likewise the fire of the Fortunée behind, which the Sunderland should have taken up, at least in this state of the action: the consequence was equal to the disparity, and in 15 minutes the fall of the Salisbury's main top gallant, and then her foresail, obliged her to quit the line: but by this time, the Sunderland shooting a-head, engaged the Illustre. The three ships of the English van, a-head of the Grafton, had luckily fallen soon, and in good order, into their stations, and in less than a quarter of an hour, the Actif, which was opposed to the Elizabeth, took fire, which brought the crew from the batteries, and the Elizabeth taking advantage of their confusion plying her excessively, and soon drove her out of the line to extinguish the fire: the Elizabeth still edging down upon her, was stopped by the Minotaur starting forward; which obliged her to haul her wind again, and this operation shot her beyond the line of action. The Newcastle then took up the Minotaur, although a 60 to a 74; and the Tiger, of which the Captain had been blamed in a former engagement, supported the Newcastle, by taking on herself the fire of the two next ships. The fight between these five continued with the utmost violence for 70 minutes; when neither the Newcastle nor Tiger had a sail under command; on which Mr. Stevens, who had left the Zodiaque to Mr. Pococke, and had beaten the Vengeur out of the line, came between, and seeing the two ships of the French line next beyond the Vengeur much crippled, set forward to engage the Minotaur; and her broad-side, as she was passing on, drove the St. Louis out of the line. In the rear, the Sunderland, which had taken up the Illustre, was likewise attacked by her follower, the Fortunée; and in ten minutes, before she had fired three rounds, her maintop-sail fell, and her head-

1759 ~~September~~ head-braces being likewise shot away, her foretop-sail swung a-back, which made her fall a-stern of both her antagonists. At ten minutes past three the Count de Province, which had stood the Yarmouth, and was afterwards taken up by the Cumberland, likewise left the line to refit her rigging, as did the Duke de Bourgogne, which had divided her fire between the Cumberland and the Salisbury, and received theirs, divided likewise in return. The Weymouth, by what accident we don't find, was kept a-stern in the rear ; but at three o'clock, the Salisbury came again into the engagement ; and, on the French side, the Illustre, seeing the two ships before her gone, closed up to the Zodiaque. At four, the only ships engaged were the Minotaur and Duc d'Orleans against the Grafton, the Zodiaque against the Yarmouth, the Illustre against the Cumberland, and the Fortunée and Centaur against the Salisbury and Sunderland. The pilot of the Zodiaque seeing, as he thought, the Fortunée and Centaur going off likewise, put the helm a-lee, without order, and, as Mr. D'Aché was running to correct him, a grape shot carried off the flesh of his thigh, to the bone ; he fell senseless, amongst four or five who were killed or struck down with him. The captain of the Zodiaque had been killed an hour before ; and the officer who took the command after Mr. D'Aché fell, wore the ship to rejoin the comrades which had already left the line. The Centaur, Illustre, and Minotaur, thinking such was the will of their admiral, wore likewise, and set sail to accompany him. The English ships still in action endeavoured to follow them, but were soon left out of gun-shot, and all firing ceased at ten minutes after four.

In this engagement the rear division suffered much less than the van. On board the Weymouth, which closed the rear, not a man was either killed or wounded, and in the Sunderland a-head of her, the whole loss was only two men killed ; nevertheless the Centaur, the last of the enemy's rear, suffered as much in her masts and rigging from their fire, as any of the other ships of the French line, who were closer engaged, and her Captain, Surville the elder, was killed. The Salisbury had 16 killed,

killed, and 40 wounded; the Cumberland 8, and 30; the Yarmouth 10, and 27; the Grafton 13, and 37; the Tiger, which suffered the most of any, 37, and 140; the Newcastle 26, and 65. The Elizabeth four, and twenty. In all 114 killed and 369 wounded. In the Newcastle, the captain, Michie, an officer of distinguished gallantry, was killed; as were Mr. Jackson, the first lieutenant of the Tiger, captain More, who commanded the marines in the Elizabeth, and the master of the Yarmouth. Brereton, captain of the Tiger, Somerset of the Cumberland, the second lieutenant of the Grafton, and the fourth of the Salisbury, were wounded. None of the English ships, after the engagement, could set half their sail; and the Newcastle and Tiger were taken into tow by the Elizabeth and Weymouth. The loss of the French crews was supposed to be equal; but when they went away together at sun-set, all, excepting the Centaur, carried their top-sails.

The uncertainty of the number of troops which the French squadron might have brought for Pondicherry, determined the presidency of Madrass to suspend for a while the attack they had resolved to make on Vandiwash; but to send a part of their troops to Tripassore to support that part of the Country against Bassaulut Jung. But no arguments could prevail on Major Brereton to desist from the enterprize, from which he expected to acquire distinguished honour; and the presidency, unwilling to check his ardour, refrained from giving him positive orders to desist.

Heavy rains had rendered the roads and rivers impassable until the 26th, when the whole army marched from Conjeveram; it had been reinforced with 40 men from Chinglapet, under the command of Preston, and with 100, of 158 released prisoners, which had arrived at this garrison on the 11th from Pondicherry. The whole force was 1500 Europeans, 80 Coffres, and 2500 Sepoys, infantry; 10 European, and 700 black cavalry; 10 field-pieces, and two eighteen-pounders: and two more eighteen-pounders were to join from Chinglapet.

On the 27th in the morning, the horse before the line, when within three miles of Trivatore, fell in with 50 of the French hussars,

1759 sars, who stood them, but, overpowered by numbers, were routed,
September and eight, with an officer, taken prisoners : in the afternoon, the garrison of Trivatore, which consisted only of a captain and 22 men of the Lorrain regiment, surrendered on the first summons. The main body of the enemy had advanced from Vandiwash in the morning, and were halting at the village of Parsee, six miles on the road, of which Colonel Brereton receiving information, marched on without stopping at Trivatore, and encamped near them; and at midnight, the enemy moved off, and returned to Vandiwash ; where, as before they took up their quarters in the pettahs, and under the walls of the fort, into which the governor Tuckeasaheb, notwithstanding the strictness of his alliance, was very averse to admit any of the French troops, excepting some of their gunners; and they to prevent worse consequences, would not compel him. The English army continuing their march the next day, encamped in the evening under the ledge of rocks, which extend about three miles to the N. W. of the fort. The day after, which was the 29th, parties were employed in reconnoitring; but neither their observations, nor the enquiries of spies, discovered the real state of the enemy's force.

On the march of Major Monson to Arcot in the beginning of August, the French drew the greatest part of their Europeans from the garrisons of Chittapet, Carangoly, and Outramalore, to their main body at Vandiwash, from whence the whole had advanced as far as Trivatore, when Monson, finding the attack of Arcot impracticable, returned to Conjeveram : on his retreat, they detached 100 Europeans to reinforce Arcot, and sent back the troops which they had drawn from the three other garrisons ; which reduced the European infantry that returned to Vandiwash to 600; but the whole of the European cavalry, who where 300, went with them. The same alarm for Arcot had led Mr. Lally to recall the detachment to the southward with Viscount Fumel, who were then before Volcondah ; but Fumel, not having levied the contribution he expected, delayed to obey the orders, and, on Monson's retreat, was permitted to persist, and had time to finish.

During

During the delay between the first resolution, and the present motion of the English army to attack Vandiwash, the government of ¹⁷⁵⁹ ~~Pondicherry~~ obtained some uncertain intelligence of the intention, and again reinforced the main body there with 400 men from the adjacent garrisons. They likewise again recalled Fumel, and more than half his detachment were arrived at Pondicherry, from whence they were at this time advancing towards Vandiwash, and, as it was reported, under the command of Mr. Bussy. Major Brereton received intelligence of the approach of this party, but no information that the troops from the other garrisons were arrived at Vandiwash; and thus computing the whole number assembled there, including the cavalry, instead of 1300, to be only 900 Europeans, to which his own force was nearly double, thought no time should be lost before the arrival of the detachment they expected from Pondicherry, and determined to attack them in their quarters on the night of the 29th, which was the next after that of his arrival before Vandiwash.

There were three pettahs under the fort, lying to the w., the s., and the e.; the w. at 150, the s. at 220, and the e. at the distance of 170 yards. The south pettah contained the houses of the more opulent inhabitants, and was inclosed on the e. s. and w. by a mud rampart, which on the s. side had circular projections to serve as bastions; but the north side next the esplanade was left open, that the guns of the fort might preserve their command on the streets and houses. The pettah to the east commenced opposite to the n. e. angle, and extending 650 yards, covered the east side of the fort, of the esplanade, and of the pettah to the south. The western pettah extended only along the breadth of the esplanade to the south; it had for some time been abandoned, and was in ruins, and most of the natives, on the approach of the English army, had quitted their habitations in the other two. The French cavalry lay in the eastern pettah. Their infantry were under sheds and tents in the covered way and on the esplanade to the south, and they kept guards on the ramparts of the south pettah; but none as they ought, in the ruined pettah to the west.

1759 A thousand Europeans, including a company of 80 Coffrees, and ~~September~~ six hundred Sepoys, were allotted to serve in the attack : they were divided into three divisions; the first led by Major Monson, was to assault the south face of the south pettah, and having entered, were to advance through the streets to the esplanade, where the main body of the French troops were lying ; who at the same time were to be attacked on the right by the second division, advancing out of the pettah to the west : this division was commanded by Major Robert Gordon. The third Major Brereton commanded himself, as the reserve for occasions, and they took post under a ridge which runs parallel to the west face of the south pettah, but farther back on the plain than the pettah allotted to Gordon's division. The European and black horse were to halt a mile in the rear of Brereton's. The rest of the troops were left to guard the camp. Monson's division consisted of 360 Europeans, of whom 200 were grenadiers, all that were in the army, and they had one company of Sepoys as attendants : Gordon's were 200 Europeans, and 80 Coffrees ; Brereton's 360 Europeans and 500 Sepoys. Each of the three divisions had two excellent brass six-pounders.

The pe'tah to the South has three principal streets, which intersect it intirely from north to south, and several others in the same direction, of shorter extent ; nor are any of the cross streets from east to west regularly pervious from one wall to the other, and some of them are only short communications between the streets in the other direction : so that many dodging advantages might be taken by knowledge of their different bearings and intersections. At two in the morning, the head of Monson's division approached towards the gateway on the south face of the pettah, and were challenged and declared by two or three Sepoys advanced on the plain to look out ; on which the guards on the ramparts began to fire. The gateway was in a return of the rampart from the left, and the road to it lay under the rest of the rampart to the right, so that the two field-pieces which were advancing at the head of the line could not batter the gate at less than 150 yards, without being immediately under the fire of this part of the rampart, which with

with the uncertainty and delay of their effect in the dark, determined Colonel Monson to try the wall at once. It had neither ditch nor palisade before it, and the first grenadiers lighted upon a part, which, for want of repair, permitted them to scramble up, and being followed by more, they drove the enemy before them, opened the gate, and let in the main body of the division. The gate entered upon the principal street of the three which leads through the pettah to the esplanade : and the other two are about 50 yards on each hand. The troops, as they came in, first ranged along the ground between the wall and the habitations, which was broad ; and then formed into three columns, one in each of the street'; but the two field-pieces moved at the head of the center column. All the three advanced very deliberately, keeping as nearly as possible on the same parallel, the two outer columns sending small parties into the cross streets on their outward flanks to dislodge the enemy from whatsoever posts their fire came, which, although not strong from any, was frequent and from several ; but the greatest annoyance was from two field-pieces at the edge of the esplanade, firing down the center street. However, they were at length silenced by the two field-pieces, with the center column. * Firing had been heard on the ground allotted to Gordon's division, but soon ceased. In an hour and a half the three columns arrived at the openings on the esplanade, where to their surprise they met no farther resistance ; and disappointed of the assistance they expected from Gordon's division, it was resolved to wait for day-light, and in the mean time to throw up a barricade at the head of the center street, which for want of proper tools was very insufficiently performed. Their loss hitherto was not ten killed and wounded.

A sky rocket was the signal for Gordon's division to advance from the western pettah, and it was fired as soon as Monson's had entered the southern. The troops of Gordon's had, for fear of discovery, kept on the side of the pettah farthest from the esplanade, but Preston and two or three more officers had examined the streets, which were very narrow, and beyond on the esplanade, where they found

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1759 the ground rugged, and interrupted with sloughs and standing water.

September But Gordon not having acquired any distinct ideas from their report, boggled, and was confused in the orders he gave. At length it was understood, that the troops, as soon as they had passed through the pettah, were to form on the esplanade in divisions, which would be 15 in front. The select picquet of 40 picked men, commanded by Lieutenant Dela Douespe, who were to lead the attack, were soon through, and formed, and advancing. Gordon himself was to march at the head of the main body, but he was not to be found when it was ranging on the esplanade ; and Preston, his second, not knowing the motives of his absence, would not venture to take his post ; and thus the whole were stopped, waiting his return. The picquet marched with recovered arms, and without dropping a shot, until they came to the angle of the southern pettah, where the rampart had a shoulder, on which were mounted two pieces of cannon, which by the direction of the streets could not be turned to any service in the fight behind them ; and it should seem that the enemy had discovered the situation and intention of Gordon's attack, for a considerable body of infantry were waiting at the angle, some on the rampart, and others at the edge of the houses below ; who, as soon as the picquet were within a few yards, suddenly threw a number of blue lights, which discovered them intirely, and were instantly followed by a strong running fire of musketry, and the discharge of the two pieces of cannon ; but the whole of the execution was from the musketry, for as the picquet was almost under the rampart, the cannon could not point low enough, and fired over their heads. Douespe returned the fire with disparity of situation, and greater of numbers, but would not retreat without orders, and was not without hopes of being immediately joined by the main body of the division, especially as the two pieces which accompanied it, began to answer the two guns on the rampart. But his expectations of farther support were vain. The shot of the two guns from the rampart fell near the main body whilst forming, and some musketry fired upon them from the covered way of the fort, on which the 80 Coffrees all ran back |

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back into the pettah, and through it, quite away, and the Europeans not led on, and having nothing effectual to fire upon, soon broke and went off likewise, leaving the picquet, and the field-pieces still engaged. But Preston, for Gordon was not yet to be found, knowing the determination of the picquet to persevere, ran singly to them, and brought them back to the pettah, where they joined the officers deserted by all the rest of the troops: but the artillery-men, animated by the well-known resolution of their commandant Captain Robert Barker, still stood by him and their guns. The fugitives not equally frightened, made their way to the reserved division with Brereton, who on the first notice, ran unaccompanied to the pettah from whence they were coming, and in the strong impulse of indignation, ran the first man he met through the body: unfortunately he was one of the bravest in the army; so that this example carried little influence, and left none to exhortation, and very few obeyed his call; with whom he went as far as the two guns, which Barker was still firing, and by this countenance had deterred the enemy from making a push, which would easily have taken them; but Brereton, sensible of the risk to which they were exposed, ordered him to draw them off into the pettah, from whence they joined the reserve at the ridge. Thus all were gone before the firing ceased in the southern pettah, where Gordon with four or five of the fugitives soon after appeared, coming in at the gate to the south, where Monson's division had entered.

The day broke, and the enemy's fire recommenced and increased with the light. The gunners, whom the Kellidar had admitted into the fort, plied the cannon on the towers opposite to the three streets, to the head of which Monson's division had advanced; and with the field-pieces on the esplanade, their fire was from 14 guns all within point blank, from the fort at 300, from the field-pieces at 100 yards. The return was from the two field-pieces at the head of the center street, and from platoons of musketry in the other two. The disparity was severe, and could not be long maintained. The officers ordered the men not employed,

1759 ed, to take shelter under the sheds projecting before the walls of the houses in the enfiladed streets ; the sheds, as in the other towns of Coromandel, were separated from each other by partitions of brick or mud : some withdrew into the cross streets immediately behind. Nevertheless, all who appeared were so excessively galled, that it was necessary to retreat ; but from the continual hope of support from the two divisions without, Major Monson wished not to quit the contest until the last extremity. In the middle of the pettah is a continuation of streets leading quite across it, although not in a straight line, from the east to the west side, were the last ends upon the area of a pagoda, in which a party had been posted, and the wounded were sheltered and served. The columns were ordered to retire into this line of the cross streets, where all, according to the breadth of the main streets, might fire down them, and immediately disappear, until loaded and ready to fire again. This movement staggered the enemy for they could do no more, if they continued on the esplanade at the other extremity of the streets ; and if they advanced along them, would be exposed in deep columns. Nevertheless, confident in their numbers, and pressing to decide before the English troops should be reinforced from without, they began and maintained this fight with great spirit and activity, until they were convinced it could not succeed ; on which they sent off their rears, which brought two of their field-pieces from the esplanade, and with them marched along a street adjoining to the western wall of the pettah, which led them to the pagoda towards this end of the cross streets ; which the guard immediately abandoned, leaving some of the wounded in the pagoda ; having secured this station, the party advanced the field-pieces along the line of the cross streets, firing and taking in flank the whole of Monson's division, against which the attack in front likewise continued, and with increasing vivacity : and in a very little while the remaining field-piece of the division was disabled ; on which the men began to lose courage, and Monson consulting his second, Major Calliaud, they resolved to retreat and take post against the southern wall of the pettah. The grenadiers of one of the Company's battalions were to halt near the gateway,

gateway, but seeing it open, marched out into the plain, quickening 1759 their pace at every step. Major Calliaud, who was near, instead of ^{September} calling after them, followed, and running beyond, stopped suddenly before them, and cried, "Halt." The instinct of discipline prevailed. They obeyed, and forming as he ordered, faced, and, luckily for themselves, followed him into the pettah. Major Monson met him at the gate, and, in the midst of much vexation, thanked him with much cordiality; but said, that the whole body, still closely pressed by the enemy, were faltering too fast to be trusted any longer; and that it was better to lead them off in order, than risk their going off in confusion of their own accord. The exhortations of their commanders encouraged them to keep their ranks; the Sepoys marched in front, helping to carry off the wounded, and fifteen prisoners. The enemy, by unaccountable oversight, did not follow them into the plain; but were contented with firing from the wall; about half a mile from which, the line halted in a grove, and in a little while perceived Major Brereton's and Gordon's divisions with the European and black horse, the Sepoys, and two field-pieces, advancing round to join them; at the same time, they saw the whole body of the enemy's European cavalry, 300 riders, approaching from the eastern pettah, where they had remained in expectation of an opportunity of cutting off their retreat, which, from want of alertness, they lost, and could not venture to attack after Brereton appeared. The whole returned to the bank, where Brereton's division had taken post, and in the afternoon from thence to the camp, without molestation or alarm. The loss, on the immediate review, appeared to be 12 officers, and 195 rank and file, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The Lieutenants Minns and Latour were the only officers; but, it was supposed, that 70 rank and file were killed; and that of this number, 50 fell in the pettah. The eagerness of performing some distinguished service before Colonel Coote should arrive, and supersede him in the command of the army, urged Colonel Brereton to make this attack, which was much more hardy than judicious, even if the enemy had not been reinforced.

1759 inforced. However, the great gallantry and the inferior numbers ^{September} of the body which sustained the greatest part of the loss, rather increased than diminished the confidence of the army. The enemy suffered as much, having 200 killed and wounded. Mainville, who commanded against Lawrence at Tritchinopoly, just before the truce in 1754, and two Captains, were killed.

The two squadrons anchored on the 11th, the day after they had engaged each other; the English in the road of Negapatam, the French 4 leagues farther to the south, who being much less disabled, were ready to sail again on the 13th; and two days after, anchored in the road of Pondicherry. The ships immediately landed whatsoever supplies they had brought for the service of the colony; the treasure amounted only to 16000 pounds in dollars, and the diamonds taken in the Grantham, were worth 17000 pounds. The troops were only 180 men. Mr. D'Aché would not go ashore, and signified his intention of sailing immediately for the islands. The season, although advanced, was not yet dangerous, nor were his ships more hurt than the English; but this resolution rose from intelligence of the four men of war, which were coming with Rear-Admiral Cornish to join Mr. Pococke, and who might arrive every day. Accordingly, early in the morning of the 19th, Mr. D'Aché made the signal for weighing, and all the ships loosed their top-sails.

The supplies they had brought were so much less than the wants and hopes of the colony, that disappointment appeared in every face; but the sight of the ships getting under sail, in 24 hours after their arrival, spread universal consternation, and excited the utmost indignation. All the military officers, the principal inhabitants, and even the clergy, assembled at the governor's, and immediately formed themselves into a national council; which unanimously decreed, that the precipitate departure of the squadron must produce the most detrimental consequences to the interests of the state, as holding out to all the powers of the country an opprobrious acknowledgement that they had been entirely defeated in the last engagement, and could not stand another; and that they utterly despised

spared of every thing on shore. In consequence of this deliberation, 1759 a protest was immediately drawn, declaring Mr. D'Aché responsible for the loss of the colony, such were the words, and resolving to complain to the king and ministry, and demand public justice of his conduct. The ship Duc d'Orleans was by some accident detained in the road, after the others were under sail, and the commander was charged to deliver the protest to Mr. D'Aché, and a copy to every commander in the squadron, which were twelve leagues out at sea when the Duc d'Orleans joined them. Mr. D'Aché immediately held a general council of his captains, and on the 22d anchored again in the road of Pondicherry; and came ashore to consult with Mr. Lally and the government. On the 25th, in the morning, the English squadron, coming from Negapatam, appeared standing in the line of battle into the road, but driving by the current to the northward. All the French ships weighed, but hawled the wind close, which being at w. s. w. kept them at their first distance from the English, which they had it in their power to bear down upon, and engage. Mr. Pococke, unable to get up to them, kept his line of battle until the evening, when he continued his course, and anchored on the 27th at Madrass. Mr. D'Aché still insisted on returning as soon as possible to the islands; and the government of Pondicherry unwillingly compromised for his departure, on condition that he should leave all the Coffrees serving in the squadron, which were 400, and 500 Europeans, either sailors or marines; who were accordingly landed, and he sailed away on the 30th of September. Mr. Lally, with his usual spleen, called the Europeans the scum of the sea; and, indeed, most of them for a while could be fit for little more than to do duty in the town, whilst the regular troops kept the field.

The animosity of Mr. Lally to Mr. Bussy had continued, without remission: he even employed his emissaries to persuade Mr. Bussy to make him a present of money, as a certain means of reconciliation; intending to use the proffer as a confession of Mr. Bussy's delinquency, of which he was every where seeking proofs. Meanness

1759 and ambition were never more strictly united than in this design.
~~~~~ Mr. Bussy, having remitted his fortune to Europe, offered his credit,   
October. if employed in community with the government of Pondicherry and Mr. Lally's, to raise money for the public service ; but treated the hints of the other proposal, as the desperate zeal of his adherents unwarranted by himself. They saw one another but seldom, but were obliged to correspond on public affairs. The letters of Mr. Lally were replete with suspicion, jealousy, insinuation, artifice, insolence, sarcasm, and wit ; Mr. Bussy's, with sagacity, caution, deference, argument, profound knowledge, the justest views of affairs, and the wisest means to promote their success : and Mr. Lally himself, whilst he pretended to ridicule, respected the extent of his talents. Their dissension was in this state, when the arrival of a frigate from France on the 20th of August brought orders from the king and ministry, recalling all the intermediate officers, who had been sent with commissions superior to Mr. Bussy's, and appointing him second in the command, and to succeed to it after Mr. Lally. This distinction produced a more civil intercourse, and Mr. Lally, with seeming complacence, asked the assistance of his counsels. The first he gave was the most obnoxious he could. Rajahsaheb, the unfortunate but insignificant son of Chundasaheb, had lately found means to persuade Mr. Lally to appoint him Nabob of the Carnatic ; and the ceremony had been performed with ostentation, in the month of July, both at Arcot and Pondicherry. This promotion, without the participation of Salabadjing, the Subah of the Decan, was a public renunciation of his alliance, and might be improved by Nizamally to confirm him in the interests of the English. The approach of Bassaulut Jung on the northern confines of the Carnatic appeared to Mr. Bussy a resource, not only to re-establish the former union with Salabadjing, but likewise to strengthen the immediate operations of the French army, by offering Bassaulut Jung the government of the Carnatic and its dependencies under the sanction of Salabadjing, on condition that he would join them with his troops. Mr. Lally at first revolted against the idea : and his aversion to it was

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imputed not more to his jealousy of the importance which Mr. Bussy would regain, by his influence with a prince long accustomed to respect his character, than to his own obligations to Rajahsaheb, who it was said had purchased his appointment. However, Mr. Lally had consented, that Mr. Bussy should march with a detachment to join Bassaulut Jung, and conclude the negotiation, when the French squadron sailed away from Pondicherry, where news arrived the same day of the action at Vandiwash, on which Mr. Lally, as a complete victory, fired a hundred guns round the ramparts of Pondicherry, and wrote magnificent accounts of the success to every man of consequence within or near the province.

Mr. Bussy arrived at Vandiwash on the 5th of October. The English army had left their encampment in sight of this place the day before ; they halted two days at Trivatore, during which heavy rains and the bad quality of the only water they had to drink brought sickness upon the camp, which caused Major Brereton to quit this post, and repair to Conjeveram, where they arrived on the 7th. On the same day, Mr. Bussy marched from Vandiwash with all the troops encamped there, reinforced from other parts to 1500 European foot and 300 horse, besides the black horse : he expected the English might wait, and give battle, but they were gone ; and the garrison left in Trivatore, which was only ten Europeans, and a company of Sepoys, surrendered to him at discretion. Draughting 150 of the European horse, and 400 foot, to accompany him to Bassaulut Jung, he sent back the rest of the army to Vandiwash, and arrived at Arcot on the 10th ; where he was detained several days, by the rains of the monsoon.

Bassaulut Jung advancing from Polore gave out that he would attack Nelore ; but when he came near the Pennar quitted the southern road, and, turning to the west, encamped on the 10th of September on the plains of Sangam, a town with several pagodas on the bank of the river, 16 miles from Nelore. Here he summoned Nazeabulla and the three greater Polygars to come and pay their obeissance to him in person. Nazeabulla contrived to make him believe magnified

1759 reports of the force of his garrison, and of troops coming to reinforce it from Madrass, which brought on a civil intercourse of letters between them ; but the Polygars he despised, and resolved not to spare. They, however, fearing to offend the English government, endeavoured to evade the visit by various excuses, on which he sent his horse over the river to forage on the arable lands for themselves, and to seize cattle and grain for the rest of the army. This detriment not prevailing, he passed the river with his whole force, and on the 1st of October encamped at Sydaporam, a considerable town, where the hills of Bangar Yatcham begin on this side, and situated within ten miles of Venkitagherri, the place of his residence, and 20 from Kalastri, which is the principal town of Damerla Venkitappah. Here he waited, not a little distressed for money, and expecting the arrival of Mr. Bussy, who, on the 18th, had made his first day's march from Arcot, when he was stopped short by extraordinary intelligence from Vandiwash.

More than a year's pay was due to the whole army : what money had been supplied to them lately was in lieu of their provisions, when not furnished regularly. The soldiers believed, that much more than came had been brought by the squadron, and, what was worse, that their general had amassed and secreted great wealth. Their intrepidity at the action of Vandiwash had increased the indignation of their distresses. They complained continually and openly, nor did the officers chuse to punish them on this score ; because the plea of their discontent was true. On others they wished to preserve the usual discipline. On the 16th some soldiers of Lorrain were punished ; some for neglect of duty, but others for slovenliness, which they could not avoid. In less than an hour after this chastisement, the drums of Lorrain, compelled by 40 or 50 of the soldiers, who had concerted, beat the general ; and in an instant every man of the regiment was under arms ; and in a few minutes all concurred in the same resolution : refusing to admit the commissioned officers, and every serjeant, excepting two, they marched in order out of the camp, towards the mountain where the English army had lately

lately encamped. The officers of Lally's and the battalion of India, 1759  
hearing the drums of Lorrain, beat the general likewise, and turned  
out the line, thinking the camp was going to be attacked by the  
English; and some of the officers who had persisted in accompanying  
the men of Lorrain, prevailed on them to stop; but could not, to  
return, before they knew the intentions of Lally's and India, of whom  
they had some doubt, whether not preparing to surround and attack  
them. For this purpose they detached a picket to confer with them,  
of whom the spokesman was the boldest of the mutiny, and, instead  
of proposing any conditions for Lorrain, exhorted all he harangued to  
follow their example, and redress their common wrongs, unless the  
whole army immediately received the full arrears of their pay. His  
words ran like\*fire : all, animated with the same spirit, cried out, march.  
The expostulations of their officers were vain, they were ordered to  
retire. Parties and detachments were commanded, which brought  
up the field-artillery, the tumbrils, oxen, tents, and baggage, and  
even obliged the buzar and market, which consisted of 2000 per-  
sons, and a multitude of animals, to move with them, and to which  
they appointed the usual guard. They sent likewise to demand the  
colours; but seeing the officers determined to die rather than de-  
liver them, desisted. As soon as every thing was gathered, the  
whole line, with seventeen pieces of cannon, marched away. As  
soon as they arrived at the mountain, they with one voice elected  
La Joye, the serjeant-major of the grenadiers of Lorrain, their  
commander in chief ; and he immediately nominated another ser-  
jeant his major-general, and appointed the best of the rank and  
file to command the different companies, with the usual titles  
of commissioned officers. Orders were then prepared, and read  
at the head of the men, exacting every article of the service. The  
camp was pitched, centries, pickets, advanced guards, rounds, calls,  
with every detail of duty and discipline, strictly observed. They did  
not like, but did not refuse, the visit of several of their officers;  
but forbade every interference that seemed authority. On hints  
whether they intended to go over to the English, they pointed to  
their

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1759 their cannon, which were ranged in front of the camp, facing the north, from whence alone the appearance of the English army could be expected. The night passed without riot or confusion.

October.

In the mean time, expresses were sent to Pondicherry, where the whole council immediately assembled at Mr. Lally's, who accused them all, as the instigators of the revolt; but produced 10,000 pagodas out of his chest, and sent them by the Viscount Fumel, with the promise of a general pardon to the troops. The council likewise gave assurances that the whole arrears should be discharged in a month, and sent their plate to the mint, as an earnest, which example was followed by many of the inhabitants. Fumel arrived early in the morning of the 20th at the camp of the troops, who had moved six miles farther on to the westward, towards Arni : He was permitted to confer with their chiefs, whom he harangued on the obvious topics of desertion, dishonour, and the destruction of all the French interests in India, and thought them sufficiently relented to appeal to the whole; who, according to his request, assembled round him on the plain, to the number of 2000 men. He gave hints of the money and pardon; and his representations had well-nigh converted them, when 70 or 80, who were the desperate mutineers, and had kept away from the assembly, rushed in with their bayonets fixed, and said, that nothing could be determined without their consent, which should never be given to a reconciliation before they had received every farthing of their arrears. Fumel, thinking neither their number or violence sufficient to revoke the impression he had made, broke up the assembly, signifying, that he should return to Vandiwash, and wait there three hours for their determination, before he returned to Pondicherry. Within the time the answer came; the serjeant La Joye was a sensible man, and disapproving, although he commanded the revolt, prevailed on them to be content with receiving six months pay immediately, the rest in a month, and a general amnesty, signed by Mr. Lally, and all the members of the council of Pondicherry. Accounts were immediately begun; and, whilst waiting for them and the return of messengers

sengers from Pondicherry, the troops continued abroad with the same regularity as before, under his command. The pardon arrived, and the money was paid on the 21st in the morning, and the whole body, excepting 30 who had deserted, marched back under the command of their former officers to Vandiwash, where before evening the whole camp was enlivened with dances and jollity, as if after some signal success.

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October.

Mr. Bussy, on the first intelligence of the revolt, resolved to proceed no farther, until he saw the event. The discontent caught the troops he had taken with him, and he was obliged to appease them by a month's pay, and then to wait, until the money to make up the six months, as to the rest of the army, was remitted from Vandiwash ; and before he resumed his march, several incidents had happened, which necessitated him to change the state of his detachment, and the rout he intended to take.

As soon as the English army, returning from their unsuccessful attempt at Vandiwhah, arrived at Conjeveram, 200 Europeans, with two field-pieces, 200 black horse, and 500 Sepoys, were detached under the command of Captain More, towards the encampment of Bassaulut Jung at Sidaporum ; they were to be joined in the way by the six companies of Sepoys at Tripetti, by 1000 belonging to Nazeabullah at Nelore, and by the Europeans in both these places, who were about 70. This force was intended to follow and harass Bassaulut Jung's army, if they should march round to meet and join Mr. Bussy ; but it was the 15th of October before they reached Kalastri, where the troops from Tripetti arrived the same day, but those from Nelore had not yet advanced. The two Polygars, Bangar Yatcham and Damerla Venkatypettah, terrified by the cavalry of Bassaulut Jung at their borders, and doubtful of the distant protection of the English troops, temporized, and according to his summons went to his camp, accompanied by Sampetrow. This man, who has been formerly mentioned, came into the province with the Nabob Anwarodean' Khan, and had served as his Duan, or prime-minister, until his death ; after which, he was sometimes consulted and employed, but never trusted, by Mahomedally, and had

1759 had a little before the siege of Madrass retired with his wealth, which was considerable, to Kalastrī. His disgust to the present Nabob had attached him to Maphuze Khan, who still continued helpless and discontented, endeavouring to keep up the disturbances which he had created in the Tinivelly countries. An officer deputed by them both went to Bassaulut Jung, as soon as it was known that he had separated from his brothers, Salabadjing and Nizamally ; and it is said, seconded the advice of the French in his service, to enter the Carnatic, but with very different views ; for Sampetrow, who managed the intrigue, intended that Bassaulut Jung should proclaim himself Nabob, and appoint him his duan ; foreseeing that the concerns of his countries nearer the Kristna would soon call him away ; when he intended that Bassaulut Jung should nominate Maphuze Khan his deputy in the Carnatic, and Sampetrow continuing duan, would, by his ascendancy over Maphuze Khan, gather the whole power of the government into his own hands. When it was objected what engagements were to be taken or kept with the French, Sampetrow said, None, if possible, with either them or the English ; but, if necessitated to chuse, Maphuze Khan was at least equally free from predilection to either. As a specimen of his own abilities for the situation to which he aspired, he persuaded the two Polygars to make each of them a present of 40,000 rupees in ready money, and added the same sum of his own. This assistance was very much wanted, and gave recommendation to his counsel, of which he was expecting the effect, when an officer of the first distinction in Salabadjing's court, and the confidant of Nizamally, arrived in the camp, with offers of friendship, reconciliation, and grants, to dissuade Bassaulut Jung from entering into any alliance with the French against the English. Nizamally foresaw that the standard of his brother, as the son of Nizamalmuluck, with the force he commanded, and his resources, if acting in conjunction with the French in the Carnatic, might turn the fortune of the war in their favour : and, in their success, he saw and dreaded, with abomination, the restoration of Mr. Bussy to the councils of Salabadjing, as the ruin of his own ambition. Bassaulut Jung inclined to the advice of Sampetrow,

petrow, and would probably have advanced into the plains of the Carnatic, with equal professions to the French and English, if the English troops had not arrived as they did at Kalastri. Their appearance disconcerted him the more because the commander of the French troops in his army, and the agent deputed to him from Pondicherry, had, with as much confidence as imprudence, assured him before he crossed the Pennar, that Mr. Bussy would join him at Sydaporum on the 1st of October. It was now the 19th, and Bassaulut Jung, so long disappointed, would not at length believe that Mr. Bussy had even left Pondicherry; when reports arrived of the revolt at Vandiwash; on which, he beat his great drum, re-crossed the Pennar, and marched to the n. w. into the country of Cudapah, towards the capital of the same name. The French troops accompanied him, distressed for necessaries; but their officers prevailed on him to request of Mr. Bussy, that he would immediately advance and join him in Cudapah. Mr. Bussy received this intelligence on the 24th, and set out the same day; but, as more than half the way he had to pass was through the mountains, he took with him only three companies of Sepoys, 100 of the European horse, and 200 black under a good partizan, which he had enlisted at his own expence at Arcot, because those he had brought from Vandiwash were gone off for want of pay. They marched without artillery and with very little baggage.

The monsoon, with signs of stormy weather, warned Admiral Pococke to quit the coast: the presidency endeavoured to persuade him to leave such of his ships as did not require the dock, in the bay of Trinconamalée; from whence they might return with the fair weather in January, ready to oppose any part of the French squadron, which might be sent back expeditiously from the islands, in order to command the coast during the absence of the English; but Mr. Pococke judiciously resolved not to diminish his strength, until he had rounded Ceylon, and was far enough up the Malabar coast to be sure the enemy were not waiting to meet him there, under this very disadvantage; but promised, as soon as secure from this event, to send round Mr. Cornish's ships, if they should join him in the

1759 way. On the 16th, the Revenge, which had been left cruizing to the southward, came in with intelligence that she had on the 8th fallen in with Mr. Cornish's division, and three Indiamen, having on board Colonel Coote, with 600 men, the remainder of his regiment, and that they were beating up to Madrass. Mr. Pococke sailed, with his squadron, at break of day on the 18th, and the same night met Mr. Cornish's off Pondicherry : he immediately put such of the troops as were on board the men of war into the Queenborough frigate, and sent her away, with the three Indiamen, to Madrass; were they did not arrive until the 27th, taking ten days against the monsoon to gain what with it might have been run in as many hours. As soon as the troops were landed, 200 from the camp were embarked, in five Indiamen, for Bengal, with Major Calliaud, whom Colonel Clive had requested might be sent to take the command of the army in that province, if Colonel Coote should be detained to serve on the coast. Sixty Europeans had been sent a few days before to Masulipatam; but these detachments were partly compensated by another exchange of prisoners with Pondicherry, from whence 170, all that remained there, were delivered, and arrived on the 17th at Madrass.

The last exchange before this in August had cleared Trichinopoly of the remainder of the French prisoners in confinement there. The numbers which, on different successes, had been brought into the city, were 670, all taken during the campaigns of Colonel Lawrence, under the walls of the city; but only 400 were remaining to be released, in the late exchanges : of the rest most had died; 30 had been sent on their offer of enlisting to serve with Mahomed Issoof in the countries of Madura and Tinivelly; and the others, who, although foreigners were not Frenchmen, had been admitted to serve in the garrison of Trichinopoly, which, the final clearance of its dungeons released from the severest and most anxious part of their duty. The detachment of 90 men sent from Madrass, arrived at the city on the 26th of August. The Dutch at Negapatam would not let them land in their bounds, which obliged them to come on shore in the open town of Nagore, where they would have been exposed to risque, if there

there had been a strong force in the French fort of Karical. With 1759 this reinforcement the garrison had 250 estimated Europeans, most of whom were invalids, deserters, or Topasses, and 3000 Sepoys ; and the Nabob still maintained his 1000 horse, which had afforded parties sufficient to secure the revenues of the districts of Tritchinopoly south of the Coleroon, of Seringham on the other side, and even farther on to Volcondah, before the detachment with Fumel had extended the authority of the French government as far as Utatoor. The intermediate villages, of which the French had lately taken possession, had remained for many months before unmolested, and were flourishing ; and, as soon as it was known that Fumel was returning from Volcondah to Pondicherry, Captain Joseph Smith detached Captain Richard Smith, with 180 Europeans, four guns, 800 Sepoys, and 500 of the Nabob's horse, to recover the country that had been lost. They marched on the 18th of September ; but had only crossed the Coleroon, when news of the arrival of the French squadron at Pondicherry alarmed the Nabob so much, that to quiet his apprehensions, all the Europeans, with 600 of the Sepoys, were recalled into the city ; but the horse, with the other 200 Sepoys, went on to Utatoor. Colonel Brereton, when determined to march against the French at Vandiwash, had enjoined Joseph Smith to undertake some enterprize which might draw off a part of their force from their stations towards the Paliar, and oblige them to detain to the southward, what might be at this time in those quarters ; his letters arrived on the 6th of October. J. Smith had for some time meditated an attempt to retake Devi Cotah by surprize, to give the squadron a certain, station, from which they might be supplied with water and provisions, without begging leave, as it were, of the Danes and Dutch. The opportunity was at this time probable ; for, confiding in the remoteness of its situation from any of the English stations, and wanting troops in other parts, Mr. Lally had reduced the garrison to 30 Europeans and 100 Sepoys ; and the Coleroon, which disengaged into the sea near Devi Cotah, was at this time full and rapid. On the night of the 9th, Captain Richard Smith, with 140 Europeans and Topasses, 300 Sepoys, two petards, and some scaling ladders,

October.

1759 embarked in two large boats, which served as ferries over the Coleroon, and thirteen of wicker, covered with leather, which are likewise used on the same river. Lieutenant Horne, with 500 Sepoys, and two field-pieces, marched two days before to Tanjore, and the Nabob's horse, with the 200 Sepoys, advanced from Outatoor to the districts of Verdachelum; all the three parties were to join, and attack Chilambarum, if the attempt on Devi Cotah succeeded. It was expected, that the current would carry the boats down in 60 hours, although the distance by the course of the river is 200 miles. Heavy rains commenced as soon as the troops were embarked, and continued this and the succeeding day. At the noon of the 11th they landed in an unfrequented part covered with wood to dress their meal and clean their arms; in the ensuing night, one of the large boats, in which was Ensign Hunterman, with half the Europeans and Topasses, the scaling ladders and petards, and seven of the smaller boats, lost the main channel of the river, and entered into that which leads from it on the left toward Chilambarum, and soon after ran aground on a bank of sand; where seeing nothing of the other boats, and uncertain whether they were before or behind, or whether they might not likewise have struck on some sand, Hunterman resolved to remain where he was until day-light; before which, Captain Smith, with the rest of the boats, was arrived at the rendezvous, five miles from Devi Cotah, and waiting for those with Hunterman, which did not come up until the evening. This delay discovered the detachment. Nevertheless Captain Smith marched across the land, and took post on the 14th, intending to escalade in the ensuing night. Two broad and deep channels of the Coleroon pass along the north and south sides of the fort; the ground to the west was at this time a morass; the eastern face standing on dry sand, was the only part accessible; but had a dry ditch and glacis; both, however, slight. The boats carrying the troops dropt down the north channel to the strand, where all landed. The Europeans were to escalade, the Sepoys to sustain them, and no fire was to be given by any on any cause, before the Europeans had gained footing on the rampart. The moon

moon was risen, and the Europeans with the ladders were nevertheless at the foot of the wall before they were discovered by the garrison, who immediately thronged and fired ; which the Sepoys at the crest of the glacis, who shared part of it, returned in much hurry and confusion, and then ran away ; on which Captain Smith seeing no farther probability of success, ordered the Europeans to retreat likewise. Thirty of them had continued in the boats, unable to move with swelled legs, acquired by sitting 60 hours up to their knees in water ; and nine, who were foreigners, had deserted. The next day he received intelligence of the repulse of the English troops at Vandiwash, signified with apprehensions of evil consequences from the ill success ; and this news, with the mischances of his party, and the preparation of the garrison rendered farther perseverance imprudent. In the morning the disabled men, were sent off to Atchaveram, and the rest followed in the afternoon. The swelling of the rivers had prevented Horne's detachment from advancing beyond Tanjore ; and if they had, the news of the repulse at Vandiwash, would equally have prevented the attempt on Chilambarum ; and they were ordered to return to Tritchinopoly. Captain Smith followed, with his own detachment, and all the stores, through the country along the south bank of the Coleroon, and arrived on the 24th. The small boats were burnt for want of hands to carry them back, but the two larger were left to be towed up, as soon as the freshes were passed.

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October.

All the revenues collected by the French government, even when their possessions were most extended, had never sufficed for the expences of the field. Much ground had lately been recovered by the English ; whose reinforcements, and their late, although unsuccessful, attack on Vandiwash alarmed the country on the south of the Paliar ; in which many of the villagers were quitting their fields, which gave the renters specious pretexts to require abatements on their leases from the administration of Pondicherry. No money, and many debts remained in the treasury there : and the late revolt demonstrated that the troops could not be trusted for the time to come any longer than they should be strictly paid. The only part of the province

1759 vince, whether under the French, the English, or the Nabob's authority, which had lately remained exempt from ravage, contributions, or military operations, was the country from Outatoor to the southern districts of Tritchinopoly, including the rich and fertile island of Seringham ; where the approaching harvest of December, which is by far the greatest of the year, promised in this, a more abundant crop than usual. The government's share was valued at 600,000 rupees, and would be received in February. From these considerations Mr. Lally resolved to take possession of these countries, with a force sufficient to keep the garrison of Tritchinopoly within their walls. But as this could not be effected, without exposing the stations and country near the Paliar to risque, by the subtraction of such a number of troops as would be sent away to the southward, he meant to station 800 men near Areot, who were to move to the relief of any place that might be attacked ; and, with this assistance in prospect, he supposed that the garrisons he should leave in the forts, although very slender, would defend themselves to extremity, and protract the successes of the English force, until his object to the southward was accomplished. Mr. Deleyrit, and the Council of Pondicherry, objected to the separation of the army, as fraught with the most dangerous consequences. Mr. Lally imputed their repugnance to the intention he had declared of farming out the collections under his own inspection, by which they would be deprived, as he supposed, of their usual perquisites ; and they attributed his propensity to the expedition to the same spirit of peculation.

To confirm the appearance of maintaining the Paliar, a detachment of 50 men of Lally's regiment attacked three companies of Sepoys, posted in a village called Checkrallore, situated on the south bank of the river, in a line opposite to Conjeveram ; but the Sepoys stood firm, killed five, and took three men, with an officer mortally wounded. Two companies were likewise posted at Salawauk, between Outramalore and Chinglapet, of which Lieutenant Fletcher drew off one to strengthen the escort proceeding with the last exchange of French prisoners to Sadras ; on which the French guard at Outramalore drove away the other company remaining at Salawauk ; but a few days

days after, Lieutenant Fletcher recovered this post. At the same time, parties and detachments were continually moving, to accomplish the dispositions Mr. Lally had arranged. The troops allotted for the southern expedition were 900 Europeans, of which 100 were cavalry, 1000 Sepoys, 200 black horse, and ten pieces of cannon, under the command of Mr. Crillon; their rendezvous was at Thiagar, to which they resorted from different parts by various routes, and were all assembled there on the eleventh of November. Neither the Presidency of Madrass, nor Captain Smith at Tritchinopoly, obtained any certain account of their force or intentions. The Nabob's horse, with the 500 Sepoys, which had been sent to Verdachelum, and had done no little mischief during their excursion, had returned to Utatoor on the 12th, and were halting there on the 15th, when they discovered an advanced party of the enemy, which they supposed the whole, and immediately retreated to Pitchandah; a few hours after, the enemy came up to Samiaveram, and the next day, their horse advanced, and reconnoitered the banks of the Coleroon, and then fell back and took post with the rest in the village and pagoda of Munsurpet. The whole force was 35 Europeans, 100 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, two guns, and some black horse, commanded by a partisan and two subalterns; of which Joseph Smith obtained right intelligence; and early the next morning sent out 10 companies of Sepoys, 120 Europeans and Topasses, six field-pieces, and 400 of the Nabob's horse, under the command of his second Richard Smith, and from the intimacy between them he accompanied the detachments as a volunteer. They crossed the Caveri and Coleroon opposite to the city. The village of Munsurpet had rice-fields in front, through which the road onwards to the Coleroon was a causeway raised above them; so that the enemy had no attack to fear on this side, and their retreat was open to Samiaveram and Utatore. The banks of the Coleroon are steep and high, and the water at this time was so low as to run only in small channels, leaving large beds of sand, and a shore of it, under the banks. Three companies of Sepoys were sent up the bank with the colours of all the

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1759 the companies, which they displayed at proper distances to resemble, whilst the main body of the detachment filed unseen under the bank, two miles on to the right, when quitting the river, they continued their march in the bed of a water-course then dry, which led to the north, and brought them on two miles, still undiscovered, until they were in a line with Munsurpet, when the water-course turning another way the troops came out of it; and as they were ascending a rising ground just before them, within a mile and a half of Munsurpet, were for the first time perceived by the enemy there; whose confusion was much less than might have been expected from the surprize. They got, although in hurry, their line into order, and began to retreat fast in order to gain Samiaveram. The Nabob's horse were detached to harass and impede their front, and by hard driving four of the field-pieces were brought near enough to fire upon their line of march, when they very imprudently unlimbered their guns to return this fire. Nevertheless the pursuit lasted four miles, when they halted in a village, to stand the brunt; but were soon beat from their guns, and the whole broke, and every man begged quarter. One officer, 15 Europeans, and 30 Coffrees, were made prisoners; most of the rest of these troops were killed during the pursuit and fight. Some of the Sepoys were cut down in the beginning of the rout by the Nabob's horse, who were immediately ordered to spare all who flung down their arms. The two guns, two tumbrils, a great quantity of ammunition, all the baggage, and an elephant, were taken. Captain Richard Smith conversing with one of the prisoners, obtained information from him of the force with Mr. Crillon, and, to his great surprize, that it would encamp this very evening at Utatore, and advance on the morrow. Fatiguing as the service of the day had been, no time was to be lost. The whole detachment, with their prisoners and spoils, returned that night to the bank of the Coleroon, and slept on their arms, and early the next morning began to cross the river, in which a sudden fresh was coming down, which obliged the latter part of the detachment to pass in boats, and the last boat in which was one of the guns, was driven on a sand, from whence it took four hours to release it, and four men were drowned in the attempt;

attemp ; and by this time the foremost of Crillon's troops appeared on the bank of the river. The flood kept them there until the 20th, when they crossed into the island of Seringham, and encamped opposite to the west face of the pagoda, in which Captain J. Smith had stationed 300 Sepoys, 500 Colleries armed with their long lances, and two field-pieces, with European gunners. The outward wall of the pagoda, being 40 feet high, can neither be defended nor escaladed ; and, if battered down, which would be tedious, the ruins would be difficult to pass. The great gateway is within, 40 feet high, 30 broad, and 40 through to the inside of the pagoda. As it is impossible to wield gates of such a surface, a wall 20 feet high had been raised across the middle of the passage, and in the wall was left an opening, in which likewise no gate had been erected. A trench was therefore dug across the passage in front, and a parapet was raised behind the opening for the field-pieces. At day-break on the 21st, the French advanced their heaviest cannon, which soon beat down the partition-wall, and disabled the field-pieces on the parapet. They then ran to the assault, and stormed their way in ; not without much resistance from the Sepoys, but very little from the Colleries. Irritated by their loss, they refused quarter for some time after all resistance had ceased. They then turned out whom they had spared, when the musketry fired upon them as they were going away, and some of the European horse rode after and cut down others : but neither with the permission of their officers. The garrison of Tritchinopoly beheld this wanton cruelty from the walls ; but could give no relief. Few of the Sepoys regained the city, and one of the three companies was entirely lost. Joseph Smith reproached Crillon severely for this barbarity.

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November

The Presidency, as soon as certified of the destination of this part of the French army, resolved that the whole of their own should immediately take the field. The choice of operations was left to Colonel Coote, who on the 21st of November came from Madrass to Conjeveram, where the largest division of the troops were in cantonment. Having taken the command, he immediately assembled a council of war, in which it was agreed, that the separated and distant situa-

1759 <sup>November</sup> tions of the enemy's troops, left a fair opportunity to reduce the fort of Vandiwash, which it was determined to try. The troops which had landed with Colonel Coote, joined the camp at Conjeveram on the 23d ; from whence Captain Preston was sent off the same day with his own company of infantry and of the pioneers, to remain at Chinglapet, in readiness to advance with them when called for to Vandiwash, bringing likewise two eighteen-pounders and a howitz. The next evening Major Brereton proceeded with a strong detachment to attack Trivatore ; and on the 25th Colonel Coote with the main body advanced toward Arcot, where all the enemy's troops in the field were encamped. These dispositions were meant to perplex their guess of what blow was intended ; they had most reason to expect against Arcot, but nevertheless concluded Vandiwash.

A party sent forward by Major Brereton invested Trivatore at nine at night, but kept their guards so negligently, that the garrison, which were only a company of Sepoys, escaped through them before morning. Major Brereton, leaving two companies of Sepoys in Trivatore, marched on with his division, and arrived the next day, which was the 26th, at Vandiwash. Early the next morning they assaulted the pettah and carried it, after a slight resistance from some Sepoys, but without any loss.

Colonel Coote arrived the same morning with his division at Arcot, where he saw nothing of the enemy's troops on the ground of their encampment near the town. They had sent a detachment on the night of the 24th, preceding the morning that Colonel Coote began his march, which attacked the English post at Checkrimalore, where the three companies of Sepoys had just been reinforced, without the enemy's knowledge, with 50 Europeans from Conjeveram. Their detachment attacked before day-break of the 25th, and were repulsed with the loss of 20 Europeans, and their commanding officer; and retreated immediately to Chittapet ; to which, as appointed the general rendezvous, the rest of the troops in the field at Arcot were on their march in the evening of the 26th, whilst Colonel Coote's division was approaching the ground they were quitting. In the evening of the 27th, some hours after his arrival at Arcot, Colonel Coote received

an express from Major Brereton of his success on the pettah of Vandiwash ; and immediately made a forced march towards him. The next <sup>1759</sup>  
<sup>November</sup> day, he left Major Monson to bring on the line, and proceeding with the cavalry, arrived before noon at Vandiwash, where Brereton had almost completed a battery for the two eighteen-pounders which accompanied his division. It was erected in the western pettah, against the tower and cavalier in the s. w. angle of the fort. In the night, another battery was begun near the n. w. angle of the southern pettah, directly opposite to the same tower ; and both were completed before the morning ; but as the two eighteen-pounders expected from Chinglapet were not arrived, two twelve-pounders brought up from the line were mounted in their stead. Hitherto the enemy had fired day and night from the walls, and only slightly wounded one man. The fire of the batteries opened with the day, which was the 29th, and the tower attacked was silenced, and a practicable breach made in it, before noon : when Colonel Coote summoned the French officer, who answered, that he should obey the orders he had received, to defend the fort to extremity. The batteries then continued to dismantle other parts of the defences ; and in the evening Major Monson came up, with the main body of the army.

In the morning, the Kellidar sent some of his officers and servants, to stipulate for his own security in the event. Colonel Coote pledged himself to continue him in the fort, and in the rent of the districts, as a dependant of the Company, if he would, with his own troops, seize, and deliver up those he had admitted belonging to the French ; but insisted on a positive answer by two in the afternoon ; at which hour no answer came ; but a little after, the French soldiers appeared on the walls, and called out that they would deliver up the fort. Colonel Coote chanced to be at the battery, and immediately ordered a company of Sepoys to advance, and take possession of the gateway ; who when they came there, were told that the key was with the Kellidar. This baulk might have produced untoward consequences, if Colonel Coote, at the same time that he sent the Sepoys to the gate, had not advanced himself with another company to the

1759 breach, which they entered without opposition ; and being immediately followed by some of the officers with the picquet, no resistance was attempted in any part of the fort. The troops belonging to the French were five subaltern officers, 63 private Europeans, and 100 Sepoys ; the Kellidar's, 500 horsemen and foot. In this success, not a man of the English troops was killed, and only five were wounded. The English forces had thrice before been against this place, and in the last were repulsed, as we have lately seen, with as much loss as they had suffered in any action in these wars. The Kellidar had signed the treaty just as the troops entered ; but his importance in the province, his relation to the family of Chundasaib, his long connexion with the French government, and his inveterate enmity to the Nabob Mahomedally, weighed unjustly more than the respect due to a contract of which he was fulfilling his part. He was brought to Madrass, behaved haughtily, and would give no account of his treasures, which he had sent away to Coilas Guddy, a fort on one of the highest hills near Velore, in which resided the widow of Subderally Cawn. The Nabob said, that the making him prisoner was of more importance than the reduction of the fort, but offered to release him for ten lacks of rupees.

The French troops in the field had made no motion from Chittapet to interrupt the attack ; and, as their inaction rendered it unnecessary to march against them, Colonel Coote resolved to attack Carangoly, before they were reinforced sufficiently to risque an engagement. Carangoly is situated 35 miles w. s. w. from Vandiwash, 12 to the south a little westerly from Chinglapet, and 18 from Sadrass and the sea. The fort is large, having four not very unequal sides, of which the circumference is 1500 yards. It is built of stone, and has, before the main wall and the towers, a parapeted fausebray, and a wet ditch. The four sides nearly face to the cardinal points of the compass ; a pettah, separated from the fort by an esplanade, and extending in a curve, entirely enveloped the north, and part of the west and east faces of the fort. As the weakest part, because nearest to the opposite pettah, the French had thrown up a glacis before the north front, but had not completed it before the tower in the N. E. angle.

Th

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December

The army, by detachments, entered the pettah, on the 4th of December, and were exposed to some fire from the fort, which killed a grenadier. The attack was confined to the north front, which, besides the two round towers in the angles, had the usual voluminous defences of a gateway, and a square tower on each hand of it; in all five projections. On the 6th the army had finished, and began to fire from a battery of two eighteen-pounders, opposite the square tower next the round one in the angle on the left of this front. One of the guns fired to breach in the angle of the curtain on the left of the square tower, and the other to take off the flanking fire of the round: but the fire of the fort was much superior; for besides several old guns long belonging to the fort, the French had nine excellent pieces well mounted, which they brought to this face; and embrasures not only in the gateway, but in the two towers on the right of it, commanded the battery; to oppose which another battery for two guns was raised on the left of the first, which opened on the 7th in the morning, and the eight-inch howitz was planted in the N. W. part of the pettah, which firing dead shells in ricochet enfiladed in its whole length the rampart of the front attacked. At noon of this day the breach appeared practicable, and Colonel Coote summoned the commandant, Colonel O' Kenelly, an Irishman, and an officer of reputation in Lally's regiment, signifying that if he persisted, the garrison would be exposed to the same treatment as had been inflicted on the troops taken by assault at Seringham. O' Kenelly answered, that as the letter was not directed in French, he had not opened it; and as soon as the trumpet who brought it had reached the pettah, recommenced the fire. It continued hotly on the 8th and 9th; when Colonel Coote advanced a zig-zag from the breaching battery. On the 10th in the morning, there only remained shot for two hours; and more had been sent for from Chinglapet; but before the batteries ceased, a flag of truce, little expected, appeared on the walls. Time was at this time of more importance than any thing but the disgrace of a repulse, and Coote granted almost all that was asked. The garrison, which consisted of 100 Europeans, including officers, marched out with their arms, two rounds a man,

1759 a man, six days provisions, colours flying, and drums beating : the  
 November Sepoys were disarmed, but likewise set free. Four of the nine guns  
 belonging to the French had been dismounted, two Europeans were  
 killed, and five dangerously wounded. The Sepoys had suffered more.  
 The loss of the English troops was Lieutenant Campbell of the ar-  
 tillery; a grenadier, a Sepoy, and a Topass mortally wounded.

On the 12th, the army encamped again at Vandiwash; where  
 they were joined the same day by Captain More, with his detach-  
 ment from the northward. These troops had advanced, accom-  
 panied by those at Tripetti as far as Nelore, and were joined on the  
 road by the party of Europeans stationed there with Lieutenant  
 Elliot; but the troops of Nazeabullah although ready had not  
 stirred a step from the walls; he nevertheless pretended that the  
 dread of his preparations had been the principal cause of Bassaulut  
 Jung's retreat out of the Carnatic. All alarms having ceased in this  
 part of the country, Captain More sent back Elliot's party to Nelore,  
 and those which had come from Tripetti, and returned with his  
 own division by the way of Tripassore to Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, when marching against Vandiwash, had ordered  
 Captain Wood, if to be done with safety, to advance from Covre-  
 pauk, and take post in the city of Arcot, in order to prevent the  
 French garrison in the fort there from collecting provisions. Wood  
 arrived in the town on the 28th, with 300 Sepoys, 50 Europeans,  
 and 50 black horse, who, without the least opposition, took pos-  
 session of the Nabob's palace and the adjacent streets, although no  
 half a mile from the fort; where they obliged the French rents  
 and the principal inhabitants to redeem the rest of their property  
 by furnishing at the market-price a large quantity of rice, of which  
 the scarcity was increasing every day by a general failure of the  
 harvest in this part of the country. Captain More's detachment  
 was ordered to join Captain Wood's on their return, and both to  
 make preparations for the attack of the fort of Arcot, against which  
 Colonel Coote intended to march as soon as he had reduced Caran-  
 goly. They had collected fascines and other materials, and had even  
 begun to construct one of the batteries, when they were obliged to  
 desist

desist, and retire, on the 9th, by the approach of Mr. Bussy returning from the northward with a much larger force than had accompanied him out of the province. 1759

December

After fifteen days march, and three of halt, Mr. Bussy, with his detachment, arrived on the 10th of November at Bassaulut Jung's camp, which was lying on a plain, six miles from the city of Cudapah. The distance from Arcot in the direct line is 110 miles nearly north ; but 300 by the road, which winds more than two thirds of the way along the valleys of rocky mountains. The French detachment with Bassaulut Jung, the Europeans as well as the Sepoys, were, for want of money, in want even of food ; and to maintain them, their officers had sold every thing of their own, but their clothes ; from similar distresses, although not so severe, the troops of Bassaulut Jung were ready to revolt. His proposals to Mr. Bussy were, " that the French should regard him as the absolute master of the province of Arcot, should surrender to his authority all the countries of which they were in possession, whether in this province or in the dependencies of Tritchinopoly, and he would account with them for one-third of the produce ; but whatsoever might hereafter be conquered, should become entirely his own, free of this deduction. All affairs and troubles were to be regulated by the Duan he should appoint. The French were to swear they would assist him against Nizamally, if he should enter the Carnatic ; with whom they should make no treaty without the participation of Bassaulut Jung ; and, after they had conquered or made peace with the English, should furnish him with a body of troops, to make war on Nizamally. After the peace, he was to be put in full possession of the whole Carnatic, and its dependencies, according to the ancient usages, when the French were no longer to be entitled to any part of the revenues. He might return into the Decan whensoever he pleased ; and, during his absence from his capital of Adoni, the French were to furnish a detachment of 300 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with artillery, ammunition, and stores, to garrison this place ; and the expence of this body of troops might be deducted out of his share of the revenues " of

1759 " of the Carnatic. As his troops were unpaid, and since the disaster  
 December " of Nazirjing were afraid of serving in the Carnatic, Mr. Bussy  
 " should immediately lend him four lacks of rupees to be distributed  
 " amongst them as the only means of engaging them to march. If  
 " this agreement should not take effect after his arrival at Arcot, he  
 " and his army should be reconducted out of the province with  
 " friendship and good faith." The tenor of these terms bore the  
 strongest marks of Sampetrov's advice : Mr. Bussy answered them  
 by other proposals, which left the issue of every one made by  
 Bassaulut Jung uncertain, and liable to future discussions and ar-  
 rangements. The personal conferences only widened the difference,  
 by discovering more clearly to each the views of the other ; but  
 Bassaulut Jung took no personal disgust to Mr. Bussy, and at his  
 solicitation issued patents subjecting, at least in words, the whole  
 province of Arcot to the government of Mr. Lally, and enjoining  
 all the chiefs and feudatories to pay him the usual tributes and  
 obeisance. In the same plain where Bassaulut Jung and Bussy were  
 encamped, were likewise lying two other considerable bodies of  
 troops, the one a detachment of 3000 Morattoes appointed to guard  
 that part of the territory of Cudapah, which had been ceded the  
 year before the last to the Morattee Jurisdiction ; the other was a  
 body of 2500 Pitan horse, belonging to the Nabob of Cudapah.  
 Mr. Bussy, by former intercourses, knew the officers of both. The  
 Pitans lent him money, which enabled him to enlist 100 of their  
 horse, the same number of Bassaulut Jung's, and 200 of the Mo-  
 rattoes ; and to supply the immediate wants of the French troops at-  
 tending Bassaulut Jung, and his own detachment, which he now  
 joined into one body under his own command. This whole force  
 collected, consisted of 350 European infantry, 100 European horse,  
 2500 Sepoys, of which 500 were Arabs or Abyssinians, 800 black  
 horse, and 10 pieces of cannon ; with which he marched away on  
 the 16th of November, five days after his arrival, returning by the  
 same way he had come. On the 10th of December, he arrived at  
 Arcot, from whence his approach had obliged Captain Moore and  
 Wood to return with their detachments to Covrepauk, and from  
 hence

hence Captain Moore proceeded with his to the army at Carangoly, 1759 to which it added 180 Europeans, 1200 Sepoys, and 160 black horse. <sup>December</sup> The Europeans replaced the number which were left in garrison at Vandiwash and Carangoly, and the Sepoys were more.

The loss of these places was the severest reproach of the error which Mr. Lally had committed in detaching so great a part of his force to the southward: of which he himself was so sensible, that he justified it only by the distress to which he was reduced for money to supply the immediate pay and subsistence of the army. He now sent expresses to recall them all, excepting 300 Europeans, which were to be left in the pagoda of Seringham. The main body of the French troops remained waiting their arrival at Chittapet. Mr. Bussy left his force about the town of Arcot, and went himself to Pondicherry. The horse he brought spread themselves, and committed every kind of ravage and destruction as far as Conjeveram, between the Paliar and the mountains. A body of Morattoes belonging to Morariow had been for some time at the pass of Cudapanatam, w. of Velore; they were commanded by Innis Khan, whom we have seen serving in the former wars of Tritchinopoly. Both Madrass and Pondicherry had agents in their camp, treating for their service. The English, Morariow knew, had most money; and pretending, that he had incurred great charges in preparing a body of troops at their requisition, to march to their assistance before the siege of Madrass, for which he had not been paid, the terms he now demanded were peremptory, and the rates high. They endeavoured to bargain lower; and he, as the shortest means, in his own politics, to make them conclude immediately, accepted 20,000 rupees from the French agents, and sent a thousand of his horse through the hills, who did not join their camp, but in two days were on the English ground between Arcot and Conjeveram.

Colonel Coote, with the army, marched from Vandiwash on the 13th, and encamped the next evening at Papantangue, a town six miles forward in the road from Trivatore to Arcot; in which situation, half a day's march enabled him to intersect the enemy's troops moving to join each other, whether from Arcot,

1759 or from Chittapet ; but none appeared ; for few of the returning   
 December troops from Seringham, and none they expected from Pondicherry,   
 were as yet come up ; and the division remaining at Arcot was   
 too weak to venture, before the others were advanced near enough,   
 to ensure the junction. On the 16th, the army marched, and   
 encamped at Muleawady, six miles nearer Arcot, but still to the   
 south of the Paliar. By this time, the horse brought by Mr.   
 Bussy, and the Morattoes let loose by Morariow, were committing   
 every kind of ravage and desolation in the country to the north   
 of this river, and as far as within 20 miles of Madrass. Thousands   
 of cattle were swept off in as many days, which they sold to   
 the first purchaser, at seven or eight for a rupee, and then made   
 them again the booty of the next excursion. With this experience,   
 the inhabitants would no longer redeem them ; after which, no sub-   
 missions exempted themselves from the sword, and all abandoned the   
 villages and open country, to seek shelter in the woods, forts, and   
 hills nearest their reach. Not a man ventured himself or his bul-   
 lock with a bag of rice to the camp ; which, for three days, were   
 totally deprived of this staple food. Excessive rains fell during the   
 17th and all the next day, which the tents could not resist ; and   
 from the necessity of affording the troops some repose, Colonel Coote   
 marched from Muleawady on the 19<sup>th</sup>, and put the whole army   
 into cantonments in the fort of Covrepauk, and the villages adja-   
 cent. The next day, he went to Madrass, to confer with the Pre-   
 sidency on the measures necessary to be taken against the force   
 which had been sent to recover the countries of Seringham and   
 Tritchinopoly : for intelligence had not yet been acquired, that the   
 greatest part of them were recalled.

The reduction of Vandiwash, notwithstanding the loss of Sering-   
 ham, revived the reputation of the English arms in the southern   
 countries. The king of Tanjore sent horse and foot, and Tondi-   
 man and the two Motavers their Colleries, to the Nabob at Tritchi-   
 nopoly. Mr. Lally's orders, recalling the troops, were immediately   
 obeyed. On the 9<sup>th</sup>, 600 European foot, and 100 horse, left the pa-   
 goda, and recrossed the Coleroon. As soon as they were gone, Capt.

Joseph

Joseph Smith resolved to circumscribe the troops which remained, as much as the strength of his garrison allowed, and detached 500 Sepoys, and as many Colleries, to invest Cortalum, a mud fort on the southern bank of the Caveri, 15 miles w. of Tritchinopoly, which were followed the next day by 300 more Sepoys, two field-pieces, two cohorns, and 50 Europeans, under the command of Ensign Morgan. The fort, in which were some Sepoys, capitulated as soon as the cannon appeared. Ensign Morgan then sent half his detachment to attack Totcum, another fort like, and almost opposite to Cortalum, in which were 10 Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, who defended themselves until Morgan came up with the rest of his force, when they surrendered. From Totcum, Morgan marched to Samiaveram, in order to join another detachment from the city, when both were to proceed against Utatoor. Early on the 16th, Joseph Smith received intelligence, that a convoy of ammunition, guarded by a few Sepoys, were on the road from Utatoor to Seringham; and at the same time, a party of 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys sent from Seringham to join and assure the arrival of this convoy, were perceived crossing the Coleroon; on which he detached 40 Europeans, 100 Sepoys, 200 of the Nabob's horse, and some Colleries, across both rivers, under the command of Ensign Bridger, with orders to proceed to Samiaveram, where he was to be joined by Morgan's party from Totcum, and both united, were to take post at Samiaveram in order to intercept the return of the enemy's detachment. At the same time, Captain Richard Smith marched out of the city with 100 Europeans, 300 Sepoys, and three guns, and took post on the southern bank of the Caveri, opposite to the Pagoda of Seringham; where he soon after knew, by a signal from the rock of Tritchinopoly, that 100 more Europeans had marched from the pagoda, and were passing the Coleroon; on which, as had been concerted, he crossed the Caveri, and kept up the hottest fire he could against the gate of the pagoda, which was returned from various scaffoldings within, and Captain Smith was wounded; but still persisting, the enemy, as had been foreseen, recalled their detachment. Soon after Ensign Bridger's signals gave token that

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December

1759 he was in possession of the pagodas at Samiaveram; but that Ensign December Morgan's party was not yet come up. The next morning, the French detachment which first marched from Seringham, returned with the convoy from Utatoor, and advanced boldly to the upper pagoda of Samiavcram; near which, Ensign Bridger was prepared to oppose them. On the first firing, most of the coolies threw down their burthens of ammunition, and ran away; on which the troops, with the rest, took post in the lesser pagoda, and, shutting the gates, prepared for defence. But in less than an hour, Ensign Morgan, with the whole of his force from Totcum, appeared, and the enemy surrendered. They were a captain, a lieutenant, and 38 grenadiers. Of Bridger's detachment, several Sepoys, with a serjeant of one of the companies, and three Europeans, were killed. These operations were of consequence; for this being the season of harvest, and the corn ready to reap, the renters, as usual, yielded the government's share, which amounted to 100,000 rupees, to the stronger force. The intelligence of these successes had not reached Madrass, when Colonel Coote arrived there from the camp, but advices were received that the greatest part of the French force were returning from the southward; nevertheless, the presidency were much inclined to indulge the anxious and repeated requests of the Nabob, to reinforce Tritchinopoly with 200 Europeans, in order to retake Seringham and Utatoor, and to recover the countries which had lately been lost, with so much detriment to his revenues; but the arguments of Colonel Coote, confirmed by the recent example of the same error committed by Mr. Lally, and its consequences, evinced the impropriety of diminishing the army at this time, when it seemed that the French were collecting their whole force, in order to risque the fate of the Carnatic in a general battle. His reason prevailed; and he returned on the 25th to Covrepauk, where, during his absence, nothing had happened, but a skirmish between the black horse of the army, which were increased to 700, and an equal body of Morattoes, whom they beat off. On the 24th, a detachment of 40 black horse, with some Sepoys of the garrison at Vandiwash

Vandiwash, surprized a party of the enemy's Sepoys, quartered in a 1759 village called Niconum 15 miles to the south, of whom they killed ~~12~~ December twelve, and dispersed the rest.

The main body of the French army from Chittapet, increased by the returning troops from Seringham, and whatsoever more could be spared from the garrisons to the south of the Paliar, had advanced to Arcot, soon after the English filed off to Covrepauk. Thus their whole force, but stronger than before, was once again assembled ; and they encamped along the south side of the river quite up to the suburbs of the city. On the 26th, Colonel Coot moved the English army to Chinesimundrum, a village six miles from Covrepauk, and five from Arcot, where the ground afforded a very advantageous encampment ; for a large tank extended in front, a morass on each hand, and the only access in front and rear was by a cause-way. On the 29th, the Generals Lally and Bussy came with a party of horse to reconnoitre the camp, and a skirmish passed between them and the out-posts. The next day, the greatest part of their horse appeared again, and, after several motions, made an attack on a guard of Sepoys, posted in a village called Trimetcherry, about a mile in front of the camp, and cut down several of them in the street ; but the rest kept their ground in the houses, and revenged the loss by killing several of the horse, who, seeing other troops advancing, retired. On the 31st, three companies of Sepoys crossed the river, and, at three in the morning, entered, and beat up the camp of the Morattoes, which lay on the right of the French encampment. All fled, as usual when surprized ; but of the few shot which were returned, one chanced to wound Ensign Merdith, who commanded the party ; after which, the Sepoys could not be prevailed upon to pursue their success by destroying the animals and baggage. Thus closed the year 1759, the third of this dubious war, with the two armies in sight of each other, but neither ready for immediate decision ; for the English were afraid of the superiority of the enemy's cavalry, and were waiting in expectation, not only of drawing off the body of the Morattoes, which were with them, but likewise of being joined by 2000 more

who

1759 who were still remaining with Innis Khan on the other side of the mountains. On the other hand, Mr. Lally was likewise negotiating for the same assistance, and still mistrusted the attachment of his European troops, although equal in number to the English; and waited for an addition, by the return of what remained of the detachment which had been sent in April, under the conduct of Mr. Moracin, to reinforce Masulipatam.

Not venturing to land the troops, as Masulipatam was taken, Mr. Moracin sailed away on the 18th of April, and in five days arrived at Ganjam, which is situated at the northern extremity of the Chiaccole province on the sea. The French had long kept a trading-house here, and were connected with Narraindeu, the principal Rajah in this part of the province: the fort and wood of his residence is called Moherry, and is situated twelve miles from the sea-shore, and thirty miles w. s. w. from Ganjam. Besides Moherry, he had six or seven other forts, which lie more inland, and farther to the north. His constant force was 3000 men, besides which he occasionally hired from the other polygars. The Rajah Vizeramrauze, during his administration under Mr. Bussy in the province of Chiaccole, had by some severities provoked the hatred of Narraindeu; which devolved, after the death of Vizeramrauze, on his successor, Anunderamrauze, who, as we have seen, had invited and joined the English, whom nevertheless Narraindeu had less reason to dislike than the French, under whose authority the vexations he resented from Vizeramrauze had originated. Nevertheless Moracin proposed, "that their forces united should march first against the English settlement of Vizagapatam, and then against Vizianagaram, the principal residence of Anunderauze. If successful thus far, they were to go on, until joined by the French army of observation, which was with Salabadjing, when Masulipatam was stormed: probably Salabadjing would assist in retaking this place, and Narraindeu, in reward for his services, was to be placed in all the advantages possessed by Anunderauze." Narraindeu accepted the terms, but with no intention of prosecuting the expedition, any farther than the continuance of his own advantages.

But

But the French troops, having expected to land at Masulipatam, 1759  
were not provided with equipments for long marches, which it re- December  
quired much time to prepare at Ganjam. They were in the de-  
tachment 43 English soldiers, who had been taken prisoners, and had  
entered into the French service, on condition of being only em-  
ployed on this expedition. Thirty of these men together made  
their escape soon after they landed, and, through many hardships,  
found their way to Cuttack in Orixa in the middle of May, where  
they were relieved by the English resident, Mr. Grey, who sent  
them to Balasore, from whence they were conveyed to Calcutta.  
Seven more arrived at Cuttack in June, and afterwards came in se-  
veral other deserters of other nations. It was the beginning of  
July before Mr. Moracin was ready to march ; by which time, he  
had expended all his ready money, and the subsistence of the de-  
tachment depended on the sale of some trumpery commodities, and  
the precarious faith of Narraindeu ; who, however, accompanied  
them with his troops. After three or four marches, they were dis-  
tressed to extremity for provisions, which neither the army of Nar-  
raindeu, nor the inhabitants of his towns, would supply without  
money. At Burrampoor, a town in the hills, six miles before you  
arrive at Mogherry, the French soldiers entered the houses to get  
victuals ; a fray ensued, and blood was shed on both sides. Narrain-  
deu, with all the troops, immediately left them ; and summoned the  
assistance of the neighbouring chiefs. The French detachment,  
having no alternative, marched back towards Ganjam. Narraindeu,  
and his allies, met them in the way, and stood what they called a  
battle ; but the European arms, as usual, easily dispersed them ;  
and the detachment took post in Munsurcottah, a town situated eight  
miles from Ganjam, in a country abounding in flocks and grain,  
where they collected provisions, although surrounded by the enemy ;  
with whom they commenced a negotiation, of which Narraindeu  
seemed to be as desirous as themselves. To conclude it, one of the  
French officers, named Darveu, went to Narraindeu in his camp,  
but accompanied by 40 Europeans, and the same number of Sepoys.  
On their return, they were attacked by the whole force they had vi-  
sited,

1759 sited, and all the Europeans excepting three were killed : the Sepoys, <sup>December</sup> not being so much the object of this treachery, suffered less. Mr. Moracin immediately returned to Ganjam, and encamped within and round the French factory, which is on the river-side ; and threw up works sufficient to protect his detachment from attacks through the avenues of the town, which Narraindeu, and his allies, surrounded. Of the two ships which brought the detachment, the Harlem had been dispatched to Arracan for provisions, and the Bristol had been driven ashore in a hard gale of wind, before the troops marched to Burrampore. There was on the stocks on the river side a large snow ; and in the river, several smaller vessels belonging to the factory, in which they intended to return to Pondicherry with the northern monsoon, after the English squadron should have quitted the coast. In the mean time, they continued for many days, skirmishing with the troops of Narraindeu, who at length offered to treat, which produced a cessation of hostilities, but no terms of reconciliation ; for the demands of the French were in proportion to the injuries they had received ; and Narraindeu only meant to save the expences of the field, with security that the French troops would not make incursions into his country, after his own should have returned to their quarters. This they promised, and remained quiet.

In the mean time letters from Narraindeu to Colonel Clive arrived in Bengal, requesting him to send a body of Europeans, which, joined by his own force, might easily take or destroy the whole of the French detachment with Moracin. The report of the deserters confirmed the feasibility of this project. But the dubious state of the English affairs, and the decrease of their military force in Bengal scarcely permitted any farther diminution of it : however, Colonel Clive, with his usual spirit of enterprize, determined to try the experiment. Sixty Europeans, half of them artillery men, were embarked on the Hardwicke, which had 100 Europeans as her crew. The ship sailed out of the river on the 30th of September, and on the 7th of October anchored in the road of Ganjam under Dutch colours. Two French officers immediately came on board to enquire news and were detained prisoners. Captain Sampson then went ashore under

der a passport to Moracin, magnified the force he had brought, said 1759 more was coming, and proposed that he should surrender his whole detachment to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. But Moracin had obtained juster intelligence. Samson then landed messengers which got to Narraindeu, who being by this time certified that the French detachment would soon go away of their own accord, had no farther motive or inclination to renew hostilities against them : but nevertheless promised Sampson that he would soon appear with his army, and again invest the town. A civil intercourse of messuages continued between them until the 20th, when Sampson being convinced that he intended to do nothing, sailed away for Bengal.

In the beginning of November, Mr. Moracin embarked from Ganjam with 40 Europeans in a sloop, and on the 11th landed at Cocanara, which lies close to the sea, on the right-hand of a small river, about 20 miles N. E. of the eastern arm of the Godaveri. On this arm are situated the English and French factories of Ingeram and Yanam. Of the prisoners taken at Masulipatam, most of those who had been admitted to give their parole, had departed, and were residing at Yanam, waiting for embarkations to proceed to Pondicherry ; and, on this pretence, went to Moracin at Cocanara, and informed him fully of the state of affairs in this part of the country. The districts from the Godaveri to Cocanara, were under the government of Juggapettyrauze, a near relation of Anunderauze. They had long been at enmity, and when Anunderauze invited the English, Jaggapetty joined the French, and with his troops accompanied them at the battle of Peddipore. After the victory Colonel Forde granted away his countries to Anunderauze, who hitherto, for want of the assistance he expected from the English, had not ventured to employ his own force to get possession. Jaggapetty nevertheless expecting to be attacked by him, had kept the field on the western arm of the Godaveri, and from his camp corresponded with Mr. Andrews, the English chief at Masulipatam, to revoke the cession made to his rival. His fort of Samel Cotah is only ten miles inland from Cocanara. Moracin sent agents thither and to his camp, to propose an alliance, informing him of the force that was following from

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1759 Ganjam, and promising more from Pondicherry. Jaggapetty neither concluded, nor rejected the proposal ; but neither he nor his people at Samel Cotah gave even the common assistances of the country to the troops with Moracin ; who, for want of provisions, committed violences, were resisted, and most of them were either seized by the officers of the district, or took service with them ; which reduced Moracin to re-embark on the sloop with five or six, the remainder of his party ; they sailed on the 19th, and a few days after arrived at Pondicherry.

The troops remaining at Ganjam were 250 estimated Europeans, but of which half were Topasses, and 100 Sepoys. They embarked under the command of the Chevalier Poete, on the snow and two sloops, rigged and manned with the stores and crew of the Bristol : they arrived at Cocanara on the 19th of December ; and Poete sent ashore fifty Europeans, and the Sepoys, to try the inclinations of Jaggapettyrauze : immediately after they landed, a hard gale of wind drove the two sloops ashore.

The troops sent from Bengal with Colonel Forde had received repeated orders from this Presidency to return thither from Masulipatam ; but they were to march over land the whole way, in order to meet, and attack Moracin's detachment, who it was supposed would be, if not at Ganjam, somewhere on the coast. The rains would not permit the Bengal troops to take the field until the beginning of November ; before which, Colonel Forde had sailed in the middle of October from Masulipatam for Bengal, where he arrived just in time to render one more very important service to his country. The command then devolved on Captain Fischer, and varying resolutions detained the troops at Masulipatam until the 5th of December. They were reduced from 500 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys, to 300 of the one, and 800 of the other : the Europeans, by death and desertion, notwithstanding they had recruited 50 out of the prisoners ; but the Sepoys, chiefly by the dismission of 500, who had sailed with Clive on the expedition to Bengal, and were permitted to return from Masulipatam to their homes in the Carnatic.

natic. The waters of the Godaveri were not yet abated ; near the 1759 sea are seven or eight channels between the two principal arms ; <sup>December</sup> and other smaller rivers coming from the Colair lake, intersect the land between the western arm of the Godaveri and Masulipatam ; which render the march along the sea-shore, although shorter in distance, much more tedious than the inland road. The troops therefore returned this way, which was the same they had come, excepting, that they passed the bed of the Colair farther to the westward, where it becomes soonest dry. At Rajahmundry they heard, that the French detachment with the Chevalier Poete had landed at Cocanara.

Anunderauze, on the appearance of Moracín at Cocanara a month before, had no doubt that he would be immediately joined by Jaggapettyrauze, and sent off a body of troops from Vizianagarum to protect the districts of Rajahmundry from their inroads. On the approach of this force, Jaggapettyrauze returned with his, from the Godaveri to his fort of Samelcotah, and both were near each other, when the French troops with Poete arrived on the coast, and the English with Fischer at Rajahmundry. The officers of Anunderauze begged assistance from Fischer, who, advising them to keep the forces of Jaggapettyrauze at bay, proceeded with his command as fast as fatigue and impediments permitted, towards Cocanara. The district for some distance round this place is covered with cocoa-nut groves, for the shelter of the weavers ; and the French troops were lying in a village at the skirt of the groves two miles from the Dutch fort, and the sea ; and, for what reason is not found, Poete had not yet landed any more to reinforce the first detachment. Jaggapettyrauze was encamped five miles on their left, against whom the forces of Anunderauze were advancing, but in a different line of march, at the same time that the English troops were approaching Cocanara, who, before they came in sight of the French detachment, saw the armies of the two Rajahs skirmishing on their right ; which Fischer deeming a proof that none of the French had joined Jaggapettyrauze, supposed them intent only on preserving their retreat to the sea, and sent forward Captain Yorke with the

1759 <sup>December</sup> grenadiers and 500 Sepoys to prevent their embarkation. The French troops had gained no certain intelligence of the force with Fischer, and waited on their ground until they could distinguish the number of Yorke's division, who when near sent off the Sepoys to gain their flank, and hastened up in front with the grenadiers as fast as they could march. The French only remained to give one fire, and then ran as fast as they could through the grove, followed almost at the same pace, to gain the Dutch factory, into which they were admitted. Yorke immediately surrounded the factory, which had very slight defences, and Fischer coming up in the evening with the main body, invested it more closely, and peremptorily demanded the French troops, whom, after a very formal protest, the Dutch agents delivered the next day, which was the 28th of December. In the ensuing night Poete sailed with the rest of his detachment 200 men, Europeans and Topasses, all in the snow. From Cocanara the English troops marched on to Vizagapatam, where they arrived on the 16th of January; and a few days after, all the Europeans embarked in two English ships proceeding to Bengal; but the Sepoys were left to pursue their route on shore by Ganjam and through the province of Orixa. Thus nothing remained to fear in the company's possessions and acquisitions to the north of the Kristna. We shall now describe the progress of their officer Mahomed Issoof in the countries towards Cape Comorin.

y. He arrived at Madura on the 4th of May, and had been absent ten months. The force he left in the country, when called away, was 11 companies of Sepoys, six in the fort of Madura, five in Palamcotah, and three at Tinivelly. Nothing more could be expected from either of these bodies, than to defend the ground in sight of the walls they garrisoned. Accordingly all the districts of both provinces from the forest of Nattam to the gates of Travancore, lay subject to their contributions, or exposed to their ravages. The declension of the English affairs, which began with the surrender of Fort St. David, (on which Mahomed Issoof was recalled,) and continued until the French were obliged to raise the siege of Madrass, kept Maphuze Khan in continual hopes, that he should be joined by a body of French troops, and estab-

blished with their assistance in the government of those countries ; 1759 and the administration of Pondicherry, by their letters and emissaries, <sup>December</sup> encouraged him to think so. Waiting this fortune, he remained with the Pulitaver, styling himself, and styled a sovereign ; but without any other means of subsistence than what the Pulitaver chose to supply, who, never regulating his money by words, scarcely furnished him with common necessaries. The return of Issoof Khan bettered his condition ; as the Pulitaver was afraid he might at length listen to a reconciliation with the Nabob, and Maphuze Khan, always governed by the love of ease, felt no resentment at the humility to which he had been reduced. He presided, at least in appearance, in the councils of the eastern Polygars ; who resolved to meet Issoof with their united force, and invited the western to the common defence ; who having joined them against Palamcotah in the late distresses of the English affairs, expected no pardon, and took the field. The western league consisted of six polygars : Catabominaigue, their former leader, was lately dead, and had been succeeded by a relation, who took as usual the same name, and bore, instead of the indifference of his predecessor, an aversion to the English. Etiaporum was always the next to him in importance, and now in activity.

The force which accompanied Mahomed Issoof from Conjeveram, consisted only of six companies of Sepoys, and 60 horse, but he had on his march requested troops from Tondiman and the two Moravers, with whom he had always continued on good terms, and 3000 men, horse, colleries, and Sepoys, from the three polygars, joined him on his arrival at Madura, where he nevertheless immediately began to make farther levies, and by shifting and garbling out of all that were with him, composed a body of 300 horse, and 700 Sepoys, who had seen service, which he sent forward to ravage the districts of Etiaporum, where they were to be joined by three of the companies of Sepoys from the garrison of Palamcotah, which had restored its losses by new levies. This body of troops were to maintain their ground until the last extremity, in order to prevent the junction of the western with the troops of the eastern Polygars, until Mahomed Issoof himself could follow with the main body

1759 body from Madura, where he was under the necessity of remaining  
~~December~~ a while longer.

The Colleries of Nattam extend 40 miles, from the districts of the lesser Moraver to the western mountains. Their forest skirts the Madura country to the north ; and, where opposite, is within twelve miles of the city. It was they who attacked the troops with Colonel Heron in 1755. They are much wilder than the colleries to the North of them in the territory of Tritchinopoly, and differ still more from those of Madura and Tinivelly, having neither forts nor military array. They acknowledge no considerable chiefs, and live in small parcels, connected by choice or relation ; so that their disputes rarely exceed the private revenge of individuals. They regard all other people as booty ; but robbery amongst themselves as the greatest crime : and any one of them escorting a stranger is a sufficient protection against all the rest ; but without this safeguard, which is always paid for, the traveller risques his life at every step. Contemptible in the open field, where they rarely trust themselves, they are much more dexterous than any of these races in the practices of ambuscade and theft. They had plundered the country up to the gates of Madura of all the cattle, robbed all the villages, and continued to way lay whatsoever parties were returning to the city with provisions from other quarters. As all of the troops with Mahomed Issoof were fit for hostilities against such an enemy, he resolved to employ them in attacking their haunts, whilst his levies were forming to better discipline. He, however, attended the service himself, which appeared more like one of the general hunttings peculiar to Asia, than a military expedition. Avenues were cut into the forest, and the inhabitants shot as they fled ; but some were reserved to be released, or executed, on occasion. A month was, however, employed before he had completed this revenge, and reduced them to beg quarter, and pay cattle, their only money, mostly collected by theft ; which, with others he procured, to the amount of 1000 beeves, and 2000 sheep, were sent to Tritchinopoly, from whence they were forwarded at different times by Captain Joseph Smith to the sea-coast, for the use of the squadron, and

and enabled them to keep the windward station, without consuming 1759 their own stock of provisions.

On the second of July he began his march from Madura, with July. 600 horse, 3000 Sepoys, and 2400 other foot belonging to Tondi-man, and the Moravers, in all 6000 men. His artillery was one eighteen-pounder, and nine from six and lower. He was scant of powder, having none but what he made himself; for, since the destruction of the mill at Madrass by Mr. Lally, the presidency could not supply their troops and garrisons in the Carnatic from their own produce; but borrowed from the squadron, and received from Bombay. The muskets of his Sepoys were old, infirm, of various nations, and not sufficient in number, and were supplied by fowling-pieces, and any fuzees he could collect. He was likewise in want of flints, which are substituted in some parts of India by agate; of which there is none in these countries. All these wants he represented to the presidency, and especially requested two eighteen-pounders, and two field-pieces of six, with a full supply of shot.

His first march was to Calancandan. He had taken this fort in 1756; but after his departure for the Carnatic, the Pilitaver and Vadagherri had extended their acquisitions thus far, and placed their guard in Calaneandan. It was a mud fort, without cannon, and, after a slight resistance, submitted to his. From hence he proceeded to take up the large detachment he had sent forward against Etiaporum; who, by continually ravaging the districts of this polygar, kept his troops on their own ground, and deterred both him and Catabominaigue from marching across the country to join the Pilitaver: having sufficiently constrained these chiefs, the detachment proceeded against Coilorepettah, which stands nearly midway in the straightest road between Madura and Tinivelly, about 50 miles from each. This fort had likewise been stormed in June 1756 by Mahomed Issoof, and carried with considerable loss. The polygar was then taken prisoner; whether restored or succeeded by another, we do not find; but the place was at this time in the hands of one who defended it as well; for 100 of the Sepoys were killed

1759 killed and wounded in the attack, which lasted three days, and then  
 December  
 July. the polygar made his escape by night. The fort was immediately razed to the ground, after which the detachment joined the main body with Mahomed Issoof, and the whole proceeding by the way of Gangadaram, arrived at Tinivelly in the middle of July. They were scarcely arrived, when Maphuze Khan, whose mind always wavered with every change of circumstances, wrote a letter to Mahomed Issoof, offering to quit his allies, and proceed to the Carnatic ; provided he was allowed a suitable jaghire for his maintenance : He even asked a safeguard to come to Tinivelly. Mahomed Issoof, without authority, assured him that his requests should be complied with ; and recommended them to the Presidency, by whom they were referred to the Nabob.

The midland country, for thirty miles to the north of the town of Tinivelly, is open and of great cultivation, and, lying between the eastern and western Polygars, had been the favourite field of their depredations. The principal station from which the eastern made their inroads into these districts was the fort and wood of Wootamally, situated 35 miles N. N. W. of Tinivelly. The Polygar, grown rich by easy plunder, had many colleries, who were well armed ; and Mahomed Issoof soon after his arrival at Tinivelly marched against him with the greatest part of his force, and in a few days reduced his fort, in which he placed some troops ; and stationed a guard of 50 horse, and some peons and colleries in a place called Shorandah, as an intermediate post. He was no sooner returned to Tinivelly, than a multitude of colleries belonging to the Pilitaver and Vadgherri surprized the guard at Shorandah, and either killed or took all their horses, with their riders ; on which Mahomed Issoof detached seven companies of Sepoys, who recovered the post, and remained in it, in order to protect the adjacent country.

Equal confusion prevailed in the districts to the south of Tinivelly. The troops of the Maliaver, or King of Travancore, were making incursions from their wall to seize the harvests at the foot of the hills from Calacad to Cape Comorin. The variety of dis- tractions.

tractions, which existed on every side, could not be all opposed at 1759 the same time, unless a greater army were embodied than all the <sup>December</sup> revenues of the two provinces could defray. But the king was the least inveterate enemy to the English ; because the polygar of Vadagherri had provoked his resentment, by continually employing his Colleries to make depredations in his country on the other side of the mountains, through the pass of Shencottah, which lies 15 miles to the south of Vadagherri. On this ground of common enmity, Mahomed Issoof opened a negotiation with the king ; who consented to a conference at the gates of his country near the promontory. They met in the end of August, and the interview passed with much politeness and seeming cordiality. The king, at least publicly, demanded nothing, and agreed to desist from his inroads into the districts of Tinivelly, and to act with a considerable force in conjunction with Mahomed Issoof against Vadagherri, and the Pilitaver. On the 3d of <sup>August.</sup> September, Mahomed Issoof still remaining at the gates of Travan- <sup>September.</sup> core, was joined by 1000 of the king's Sepoys, armed with heavy muskets made in his own country, and disciplined, although awkwardly, in the European manner ; but they were well supplied with stores and ammunition. He then returned to Tinivelly, and marching from thence with his whole force, in deference to the king, proceeded directly against Vadagherri, although 20 miles beyond Nellitangaville, the residence of the Pilitaver : when arrived near Shencottah, he was joined by an army full as large as his own, consisting of 10,000 more of the king's troops of various kinds of infantry, who had marched through the pass. This was perhaps the greatest force that had been assembled for some centuries in this country. Vadagherri defended his woods for a day, in which about 100 men were killed and wounded on both sides ; but in the night abandoned his fort, and escaped away to the Pilitaver at Nellitangaville.

The arrival of such a guest, who, for the first time, had been reduced to such distress, frightened the Pilitaver ; and set his cunning to work to divert the storm from himself. The repulse of the English troops at the attack of the pettah at Vandiwash on the 30th of <sup>October.</sup>

1759 September, was known in the country, and was believed, as the French had represented it, a signal defeat. Maphuze Khan had received letters from Bassaulet Jung and the government of Pondicherry, which encouraged him to think, that they should very soon overpower the English in the Carnatic, when he might expect to be substituted to his brother Mahomed Ally, who was to be deposed from the Nabobship. This correspondence, and these expectations, the Pilitaver communicated to the king of Travancore, and offered, if he would quit the English, and join Maphuze Cann against them, to give him whatsoever districts in the Tinivelly country might lie convenient to his own. The King immediately exposed these documents to Mahomed Issoof, and standing on his importance, demanded the cession of Calacad and the adjacent districts, for which he had so long contended against the Nabob's government. He said, that more territory than he claimed had already been recovered with his assistance ; that what might be refused by one, would be readily given to him by another ; and that, if he should join the Polygars, the Nabob's authority would never be established in the Tinivelly country. Mahomed Issoof, whilst perplexed with this dilemma, was informed that the two eighteen-pounders, with 500 muskets, which had been sent, according to his request, from Madrass, were lost at sea ; and that the two six-pounders, although landed, were stopped by the Dutch agent at Tutacorin. This mischance gave greater weight to the king's arguments, and greater value to his assistance ; for the force of Mahomed Issoof alone was not sufficient to reduce the Pilitaver, whom all the best colleries in the country were flocking to defend. He therefore surrendered the districts which the king demanded ; and the Presidency approved the cession ; but the Nabob suspected that it had been promised by Issoof at his first interview with the king, in order to secure his future assistance to his own ambitious views.

As soon as this agreement was settled, the Travancores moved again in conjunction with his troops. On the 6th of November they invested the wood and fort of Easaltaver, which was one of the

the dependencies of the Pulitaver. The Colleries defended the wood 1759 three days, and then abandoned both ; and retired to Nellitangaville. After this success, the want of ammunition obliged Mahomed Issoof <sup>December</sup>  
<sup>November.</sup> to remain until he received supplies from Madura, Palamcotah, and Anjengo. The army of Travancore, to prevent disgusts from disparity of customs, encamped separately, but in sight of Mahomed Issoof's ; and on the 20th of November, a body of 5 or 6000 Colleries attacked the camp of the Travancores in open day. Mahomed Issoof, on the first alarm, sent his horse, and followed with his Sepoys and other foot ; but the Colleries retreated before they came up, and their nimbleness, with the ruggedness of the country, rendered the pursuit of little avail. They had killed and wounded 100 of the Travancores, before they went off. A day or two after this skirmish, Mahomed Issoof received three howitzes, with some stores, and a supply of ammunition from Anjengo ; and the two six-pounders with their shot likewise came up from Tutacorin ; he then moved with his allies, and on the 4th of December set down before Washinelore, another fort dependent on the Pulitaver, much stronger than any he had, excepting Nellitangaville, from which it is situated twenty miles to the N. W. and twelve in the same direction from Outamaly.

Washinelore stood within three miles from the great range of mountains, at the foot of which ran a thick wood, extending two miles into the plain, and within 1300 yards of the west and south sides of the fort ; but turned to a much greater distance on the North, and to the east the plain was open, and every where covered with profuse cultivation. A very extensive pettah, the residence of some thousand inhabitants, commenced within forty yards, and extended 1200 to the N. E. of the walls : a thick thorn hedge, with barriers, surrounded both the pettah and the fort. The extent of the fort was 650 by 300 yards : it was of mud, but almost as hard as brick ; it had four large square towers, one at each angle, and several smaller, which were round, between. Every tower was a separate redoubt, enclosed by a parapet, to command within as well as without the fort : the access to the tower was a steep ramp, only two feet broad, the entrance a narrow wicket in the parapet ; the curtain between the

1759 towers had no parapet, and was only a rampart sloping on both sides from a base of 15 feet to 3 at top; but the slope from within was much less sharp than from without, so that, if assaulted, the defenders might easily run up to the top. The parapets of the towers have circular holes for the use of small arms, but no openings prepared for cannon, of which there was not a single piece in the fort. This description only suits Washinelore, for the other forts in the Madura and Tinivelly countries have parapets with loop-holes to their ramparts, as well as to their towers; but all are of earth, excepting Madura and Palamcotah. The Colleries on this side of the Tinivelly country, possess nothing of the ugliness or deformity which generally characterize the inhabitants of the hills and wilds of India. They are tall, well-made, and well-featured. Their arms are lances and pikes, bows and arrows, rockets, and matchlocks, but whether with or without other weapons, every man constantly wears a sword and shield. In battle, the different arms move in distinct bodies; but the lancemen are rated the most eminent, and lead all attacks. This weapon is 18 feet long; they tie under the point a tuft of scarlet horse-hair, and when they attack horse, add a small bell. Without previous exercise, they assemble in a deep column, pressing close together, and advance at a long steady step, in some degree of time, their lances inclining forward, but aloft, of which the elasticity and vibration, with the jingle, dazzle and scare the cavalry; and their approach is scarcely less formidable to infantry not disciplined with fire-arms. The importance of Washinelore, and the great force which was come against it, brought some thousands of Colleries to its relief; but all, excepting 8 or 900 chosen men allotted to defend the walls, kept in the woods: from whence every day and night parties sallied, and alarmed or attacked one or other, and sometimes both the camps; and greater bodies on three different days made general attacks on the batteries, of which these continued interruptions retarded the construction, insomuch that they were not finished until the 26th, 20 days after the arrival of the armies; but the howitzes had commenced before. The only efficaciou

December

efficacious gun was the 18-pounder, which Mahomed Issoof had brought from Madura, for the rest were only 6-pounders and lower; but from excessive firing, the 18-pounder burst the day after it was mounted; and by this time all the ammunition, as well of the batteries as troops, excepting the quantity which prudence required to be reserved for defence, was expended. However, part of the parapet of the tower fired upon, was beaten down, and Mahomed Issoof resolved to storm the next day. Many troops of both armies waited on the assault; and as soon as it began, the Pilitaver, with 3000 chosen Colleries, who had marched in the night from Nellitangaville, issued from the wood and fell upon the camp of Mahomed Issoof, drove away the troops that guarded it, and began to commit every kind of destruction. Mahomed Issoof instantly sent back a large body to repulse them, and continued the assault; but the garrison within received double animation from the Pilitaver's success, which was announced to them by the usual war-cry and the sounding of their conchs. All the other Colleries collected in the woods appeared likewise, as if on the same notice, and in different bands attacked the troops at the batteries, and at the foot of the breach; and although continually repulsed, continually rallied, and with the resolution of the garrison saved the fort until the evening, and then waited in the woods to interrupt the renewal of the assault in the night; but so much of the reserved ammunition had been expended in the day that Mahomed Issoof deemed it dangerous to remain any longer before the fort, and drew off his artillery. Two hundred of his troops and of the Travancores were killed, but more of the enemy. The next day he moved to a distance, and dismissed the Travancores, who proceeded through the pass of Shencotty to their own country, and Mahomed Issoof returned with his own troops, and those lent him by Tondiman and the Moravers, to the town of Tinivelly.

END of the ELEVENTH BOOK.



## B O O K XII.

THE two armies in the Carnatic continued, during the first days <sup>1760</sup> of January, in their encampments near Arcot, equally cautious of risking any attempt of consequence, because both were waiting the result of their negotiations to bring Innis Khan with his Morattoes to their assistance. Both offered 60,000 rupees ; but, whilst the English were proposing conditional bills, the French sent ready money, which determined his preference. He arrived on the 8th in the French camp, with 3000 mounted, and a greater number of foot plunderers, who are called Pandarums, and always troop with the horse, as we have described when Bajinrow joined Clive in the fight near Arni. The next day, the French army filed off from their encampment which extended from the suburbs of Arcot along the south side of the Paliar, and took the road towards Trivatore ; and, as they were going off, Mr. Lally, with a large body of Morattoes, some of the European horse, and two field-pieces, crossed the river, and advanced to Trimuddi, an out-post, three miles in front of the English camp at Chinasimundrum. A cannonade ensued, but more guns and troops coming up, Mr. Lally retired, and recrossed the river : during which, a body of 200 Morattoes, with whom Colonel Coote had treated, came over from the enemy's, and joined his camp. In the evening, Colonel Coote proceeded across the river, with an escort of horse, and reconnoitred the enemy's line of march, and suspecting, that they might intend against Vandiwash, took his measures accordingly. Orders were dispatched to Captain Sherlock, who commanded

1760 manded in the fort, to defend it to extremity, and to the two companies of Sepoys at Trivatore, to repair thither immediately. The <sup>January.</sup> baggage of the army was sent off that night to Covrepauk ; and in the morning the whole army moved from Chinasimundrum, where they had lain eighteen days, and in the evening pitched anew on the bank of the Paliar, five miles lower down than the ground which the French had occupied on the other side. A strong post of horse and foot was advanced at some distance towards Arcot, and another on the left, with orders to keep up continual patroles. The next day passed without any alarm from the enemy, or intelligence of consequence concerning them, who nevertheless were not idle.

Mr. Lally had formed another project besides that which Colonel Coote suspected ; and, to accomplish it, had not suffered his army to advance with half the expedition they might. They were on the 11th, the third day after they quitted their encampment, no farther than Papantanguel, six miles on this side of Trivatore, and halted there the greatest part of the day. Towards the evening all were under arms, and the stores and baggage loaded ; but, instead of marching on he displayed them on the plain, facing to the Paliar, and then exercised them as if for practice, in large evolutions, which were calculated to fling the whole line to the eastward, with all the horse, Morattoes, as well as Europeans, on the right, of whom the outermost, when the exercise ended, were six miles from Papantanguel. Having thus whiled away the time until the close of the evening, he continued all on the ground they stood until it was dark ; and then separated the army into two divisions. The horse, excepting some which rejoined the second, filed off, followed by 300 Sepoys, who had formed next to them, and marched on as fast as they could, keeping together ; the rest of the army, which consisted of all the European infantry, with the baggage and artillery, were ordered to follow, but without strain. Mr. Lally led the first division himself. After a march of 15 miles, in which they had crossed the Paliar, they arrived at eight in the morning at Conjeveram ; expecting to find in the town the magazines of rice which supplied the English army ; but they had no such store, living

living on the purchase of the day ; nor had the inhabitants more than 1760 the common provision of their houses ; but in the pagoda was the <sup>January.</sup> hospital, and a stock of military stores, under the guard of two companies of Sepoys, commanded by Lieutenant Chilsholm, of which the capture would have been distressing ; but Mr. Lally having brought no cannon made no attempt on the pagoda, and employed his troops in collecting plunder, and setting fire to the houses of the town ; during which, the Sepoys, and all the sick in the pagoda, who could move, came out, and being well acquainted with the streets and covers, continually attacked their smaller parties and stragglers, and whenever likely to be overpowered, disappeared. In the evening the enemy retreated, driving off 2000 bullocks, the most valuable part of their booty, loaded with the trumpery they had collected. By this time the other division of the army had arrived at Jangolam, a village on the bank of the Paliar, three miles from Conjeveram, from whence both united, immediately proceeded, and the next day reached Trivatore.

The nearest ground of the French line, whilst marching on this exploit, was eight miles from the advanced post of the English camp, whose black horse, awed by the number of the Morattoes, were afraid to venture, and could not be trusted so far abroad ; and the European horse, being only one hundred, were not even sufficient for the necessary patroles of the camp ; so that the first intelligence of the enemy's march was from Lieutenant Chisholm at Conjeveram, sent as soon as they appeared there. It arrived in the afternoon ; Colonel Coote immediately set off with the cavalry, and ordered the whole army to follow, which was in march before the sun set, and before it rose at Conjeveram, where Colonel Coote, with the cavalry, had arrived at one in the morning. The way is twenty-one miles.

It was now a month, that Mr. Bussy had acted once more in the field in conjunction with Mr. Lally ; and the intercourse had only increased the aversion. The late errors of Mr. Lally's operations, which had lost Vandiwash and Carangoly, without gaining any thing equivalent by the expedition to Seringham, had lowered his military character throughout the army ; and even his own regiment as well as Lorrain, although the King's troops, began to acknowledge the

1760 superior talents of Mr. Bussy to conduct the war : the battalion of India always thought so. Mr. Lally imputed this rising predilection in the officers to the influence of Mr. Bussy's money, and amongst the soldiers to the intrigues of Father St. Estevan, a crazy, busy Jesuit, who officiated in the camp, and confessed the regiment of Lorrain : his antipathy no longer listened to any restraints. As soon as the army returned to Trivatore, Mr. Bussy asked his leave to retire to Pondicherry for the recovery of a painful disorder, which incapacitated him for fatigue : but Mr. Lally forbid him in the name of the king to quit the field. He obeyed, and gave his best opinion concerning the future operations of the campaign. "The English, he said, would not see "Vandiwash taken, without risking a battle to save it, in which the "French army would be deprived of all the force employed in the "siege ; and from the necessity of covering it, not master of the choice "of advantages in the action ; whereas, if the whole of the regular "troops kept together on the banks of the Paliar, and detached "the whole body of Morattoes to lay waste the English districts, "their army would soon be reduced to the necessity, either of "giving battle at disadvantage, or of seeking its subsistence under "the walls of Madrass." No advice could be more judicious ; for the first division of the Morattoes, although only 1000, had ventured to carry their ravages as far as Pondamalee and Vendalore, and by cutting off every kind of provision on every side had reduced the English camp to as great want, as they brought abundance to the French, where they sold the beeves they had plundered at seven for a rupee, and rice at half its value in any other part of the country ; and at this very time the Presidency of Madrass, anxious for the loss of their surest revenues, repented that they had not bought the Morattoes on their own terms, and were advising Colonel Coote to fall back nearer to the adjacencies of the town. But Mr. Lally suspected Mr. Bussy's advice, as designed to prevent or disparage the activity of his own operations ; and on the 14th marched away from Trivatore, with a detachment of 500 Europeans, half the European cavalry, 500 Morattoes, 1000 Sepoys, and four field-pieces, leaving Mr. Bussy with the main body at Trivatore, as the most central

central situation, at hand to join his own division, if the English army 1760 should march after it; or ready to oppose and interrupt them, if they ~~January.~~ should go against Arcot, in order to divert the siege of Vandivash.

On the 14th in the evening, Colonel Coote received intelligence of Mr. Lally's arrival at Vandivash, and the next day marched with his whole force from Conjeveram, crossing the Paliar to the S. E. instead of following the enemy by the longer, but better road of Trivatore. On the 17th, they arrived, and encamped near Outramalore. This situation, lying half-way in the road between Vandivash and Chinglapett, secured the communication with this place, and from hence with Madrass: it likewise had Carangoly in its rear to the left. The fort at Outramalore having long been neglected, was open in several parts from top to bottom of the wall; but was a much more defensible repository for the stores and baggage of the army, than any post in the open plain.

Captain Sherlock kept 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys in the south pettah of Vandivash, which Mr. Lally attacked at three in the morning with all his infantry, in two divisions: the one, in which the Europeans were marines from the squadron, was allotted to the western rampart, and only intended to make a diversion during the real attack on the opposite; where the Europeans were of Lally's regiment, and led by himself. Both divisions were discovered and fired upon before they gained the foot of the wall; and the marines, unused to such services, broke, and ran round to Mr. Lally's division, who, supposing them enemies, fired upon them until the mistake was discovered. Nothing more was attempted until eight o'clock the next morning, when all the infantry in one column, with two field-pieces at their head, advanced against the south-side of the pettah; but the fire to which they were exposed, brought the front of the column to a halt without orders. Mr. Lally rode up, dismounted, and calling for volunteers, ran to the ditch, and mounted the wall, himself the first. The whole column immediately poured after him; and the troops in the pettah, having no orders to defend it to extremity, escaped along the streets, and regained the fort without any loss in the retreat; in the whole defence only four or five had been killed; but the enemy lost twelve Europeans, besides Sepoys,

1760 poys, and more wounded of both. They immediately entrenched <sup>January.</sup> the openings of the streets facing the fort, and began to raise a battery in the N. E. angle of the pettah, against the same tower which Colonel Coote had breached, and nearly on the same ground.

A thousand of the Morattoes had been ordered to observe the motions of the English army ; but they followed nothing but plunder, and continued spreading themselves to the north of the Paliar ; and as Mr. Lally never rewarded sufficiently to encourage daring spies, the first news he received of the approach of the English army, was on the 17th at sun-rise, by a letter from Mr. Bussy at Trivatore, by which time they were arrived at Outramalore. His aversion to the authority, made him unwilling to accept the information as authentic; and at first he only ordered part of the army to advance from Trivatore : but, on farther intelligence, left Mr. Bussy to act according to his discretion ; who at five in the afternoon marched with the whole, and arrived at Vandivash before midnight.

The English army arrived at Outramalore without provisions, and too much fatigued to march on, and reach Vandivash, before Mr. Bussy's division had joined Mr. Lally's there, which, otherwise, on their appearance, must either have retreated, or would have stood their ground with great inferiority and disadvantage. The horse, as soon as the foot were encamped, went abroad to rummage the villages for provisions, and the next day the troop of hussars fell in with 50 Morattoes, of whom they killed one, and took twelve with their horses. Still the want of grain continued in the camp, and it was found that the renter, although he depended on Madrass, had sold his store to some agents, probably employed by the French, at Sadrass ; on which he was seized, and confined without eating, until the army was supplied ; and his people in a few hours brought enough for the immediate want, and promised more. The scarcity had, however, been no obstacle to the operations of the army ; for Colonel Coote had resolved not to advance upon the enemy, until they were ready to assault Vandivash, when he should have his choice of attacking either the troops employed against the fort, or the army which covered them in the plain. This Mr. Bussy foresaw, and again advised

Mr.

Mr. Lally to desist from the siege until a better opportunity ; and 1760 to keep his whole force together, until the English either fought ~~January~~ or retired ; but Mr. Lally as before could not brook instruction from he rival he detested, and persisted.

Their battery did not open until the 20th ; having waited for the annon, which were brought 70 miles from the ramparts of Vallore, on carriages sent from Pondicherry. They were two eighteen, and two of twenty-four. By the night of the 20th the wall of the aussebray was opened. Colonel Coote, on this intelligence, marched the next day with all the cavalry to reconnoitre the enemy's situation and the state of the siege, and receiving, when near, a message from Sherlock, that they had breached the main rampart, went back, and halted at Tirimbourg, a village half way, to which he ordered the main body of the army to advance without delay from Outramalore, but to send their heavy baggage, for better security, to Carangoly. They arrived at Tirimbourg in the night ; at sun-rise, Colonel Coote taking with him 1000 of the black horse, and the two troops of European, with two companies of Sepoys, advanced in front of the main body of the army, which he ordered to follow, but without pressing their march.

The distance from Tirimbourg to Vandivash is seven miles ; the road leads from the N. E. to the S. W. The mountain of Vandivash lies in the same direction, extending more than a league in length. The fort stands two miles to the S. of the mountain, but nearer to the western than the eastern end. The French army was encamped directly opposite to the eastern end of the mountain, at the distance of three miles, and at two to the west of the fort. The camp was in two lines separated by paddy fields ; a great tank covered the left flank of both lines. At 300 yards in front of this tank, but a little on its left, was another, and farther on, likewise on the left of this, another, neither more than 200 yards in circumference, and both dry ; and the bank which surrounded the foremost tank had been converted into a retrenchment, in which were mounted some pieces of cannon, which commanded the plain in front, and flanked in its whole length the esplanade in front of the camp.

1760 January. All the Morattoes were returned, and lying with their plunder under the foot of the mountain, extending along it towards the N. E. end. Their scouts brought intelligence of the approach of Colonel Coote's division, on which all mounted, as did the European cavalry in the French camp, and the whole spread in different bodies across the plain to the east of the mountain. Colonel Coote, with 200 of the black cavalry, followed by the two companies of Sepoys, was advancing a mile in front of the rest of the cavalry, which composed the division he was leading ; and the Morattoes sent forward 200 of their horse, on which he halted, called up the Sepoys, and interspersed them in platoons between the troops of horse.

The advanced body of the Morattoes nevertheless pushed on, but were stopped by the fire of the Sepoys, before they came to the use of the sword. Nevertheless, they recovered after their wheel, stood till within reach of the Sepoys again, then turned again, and in this manner fell back to their main body, which with the French cavalry had gathered, and were drawn up, extending in a line to the east, from the end of the mountain ; the French on the right of the Morattoes.

Colonel Coote, whilst halting for the Sepoys, had sent off a messenger, ordering up the body of cavalry, which were a mile behind, and the first five companies of Sepoys with two of the field-pieces from the head of the line of infantry, to come on likewise as fast as they could march : the cavalry soon joined him, but more time was requisite for the Sepoys and guns, as the line was three miles off. During which, Colonel Coote, by continual halts, advanced very slowly ; and the enemy's cavalry continued on the ground they had chosen. At eight o'clock the detachment of Sepoys, with the guns, came up, when the division with Coote were at an ascent, which intercepted them from the sight of the enemy, who, although they had perceived the cloud of march, had not distinguished the two guns which accompanied the Sepoys, who, joined by the other two companies, formed in a line in the rear of the cavalry, with the guns in the center ; the two troops of European horse were in the center of the cavalry in the first line. In this order the two lines advanced

against

against the enemy, who were still waiting for them ; but when at the distance of 200 yards, the cavalry opened from the centre, and brought themselves round, divided on each wing of the Sepoys, in the second line ; and the instant the ground was clear, the two field-pieces began quick firing on the enemy's line of cavalry, which were setting off to take advantage of the evolution making by the English. The field-pieces were, one a twelve, the other a six-pounder, both of brass ; and Captain Robert Barker, although he commanded the whole of the Company's artillery, had come up with, and now served them himself : the effect answered the good-will and dexterity ; the fire was directed amongst the Morattoes ; and every shot was seen to overset men and horses, which stopped their career, but not before they were within reach of the musketry of the Sepoys ; and some of them on the wings had even rode in amongst the outward of the English cavalry during their evolution ; but the increasing havoc which fell amongst them soon after, put the whole body to flight, and they galloped away to their camp, leaving the French cavalry alone, who were advancing in regular order on their right, against whom the field-pieces were then directed, which they stood for some time, seeming to expect the Morattoes would rally ; but seeing them entirely gone off, turned and went off themselves, but still in order, and with much composure.

Colonel Coote advanced with his division to the ground they had quitted, and seeing the plain clear, quite up to the French camp, sent orders to his line of infantry to halt, wheresoever the order should meet them, until he returned to them himself. There were some gardens and other enclosures half a mile to the right of the ground which the French cavalry had occupied, whilst drawn up in a line with the Morattoes extending from the end of the mountain. The enclosures were good shelter on necessity, and the ground beyond them excellent for the display and action of the whole army, which Colonel Coote having reconnoitred, ordered his division to file off to the left, and to form on this ground, in the same order as before ; the cavalry in a line in front, the Sepoys in another behind them.

As

1760 As soon as this disposition was executed, he rode back to the  
 line of infantry, which were halting, drawn up in two lines ac-  
 cording to the order of battle he had issued to the principal officers  
 in the preceding night. He signified his intention of leading the  
 army on to a general action, which was received with acclamations,  
 that left no doubt of the ardour of the troops to engage the enemy  
 they had so long been seeking. The plain dry, hard, and even, ad-  
 mitted of their marching on in the same order they were drawn up,  
 without filing off in columns, so that they were soon upon the  
 ground where the advanced division were halting, when the cavalry  
 wheeled from the right and left, and formed the third line of the  
 main battle, and the five companies of Sepoys took their place again  
 on the right of the first line; but the two field-pieces, still attended  
 by Captain Barker with the two detached companies of Sepoys, kept  
 apart at some distance in front, but to the left of the first line.

In this array the army stood in full view of the French camp, in  
 which no motions were perceived; but no firing was heard against  
 the fort of Vandivash. Colonel Coote having waited half an hour  
 to see the effect of his appearance, rode forward with some officers  
 to reconnoitre the enemy's camp, who suffered them to approach near,  
 without cannonading or sending out a party of cavalry to interrupt  
 them.

The day began to wear, and Colonel Coote, as soon as he returned  
 to the troops, ordered the whole to file off to the right; the infantry  
 marched in two lines at the same parallels they had drawn up; the  
 baggage formed a third column on the right, and the cavalry followed  
 in the rear of all the three. They proceeded towards the south side of  
 the mountain, but inclining a little towards the French camp. As soon  
 as the first files of the infantry came to the stony ground which ex-  
 tends from the foot of the mountain, on which the enemy's cavalry  
 could not act, the whole halted, and the two lines of infantry facing  
 to the right, presented themselves again in order of battle, opposite to  
 the French camp, at the distance of a mile and a half, but out-  
 stretching it on the right; the baggage falling back at the same time,  
 gave place to the cavalry to resume their former station as the third line.

The

The Morattoes were spread under the mountain to protect their own camp, and none of them ventured within reach of the two guns, which during the march had kept on the left of the first line ; but some of the French cavalry came out to reconnoitre, and were driven back by their fire. The army halted some time in this situation, in expectation that the defiance would bring the French out of their camp ; but they still remained quiet ; which obliged Colonel Coote to prosecute the rest of the operations he had meditated.

1760  
January.

The ground for some distance from the mountain, is, as under all others in the Carnatic, encumbered with stones and fragments of rock. From this rugged ground up to the fort the plain was occupied by rice fields. The English army coasting the mountain until opposite to the fort, and then making a conversion of their lines to the right, would immediately be formed in the strongest of situations ; their right protected by the fire of the fort ; their left by the impassable ground under the mountain, and with the certainty of throwing any number of troops, without opposition, into the fort ; who, sallying with the garrison to the other side, might easily drive the enemy from their batteries in the pettah ; from whence the whole of the English army might likewise advance against the French camp, with the choice of attacking it either on the flank, or in the rear, where the main defences, which had been prepared in the front of their encampment, or arose from the usual dispositions on this side, would become entirely useless.

The English army had no sooner began their march along the foot of the mountain, than Mr. Lally perceived the intention, with all the consequences of this able operation. The camp immediately beat to arms, and soon after the troops were seen issuing to occupy the ground in front of its line, where the field of battle had been previously marked out.

The French cavalry, 300 riders, all Europeans, formed on the right ; next to them were the regiment of Lorrain, 400 firelocks :

1760 in the centre, the battalion of India, 700 ; next to them Lally's, <sup>January.</sup> 400, whose left were under the retrenched tank, in which were posted the marines or troops from the squadron, with Poete's from Ganjam, in all 300, with four field-pieces. Between the retrenchment and Lally's were three, the same number between Lally's and India, India and Lorrain, Lorrain and the cavalry ; in all 16 pieces. Four hundred of the Sepoys of Hyder Jung, whom Mr. Bussy had brought from Cudapah, were posted at the tank in the rear of the retrenched tank were the marines were, whom they were to support on occasion : 900 Sepoys were ranged behind a ridge which ran along the front of the camp ; and at each extremity of this ridge was a retrenchment guarded by 50 Europeans, which covered the entrances into the camp. The whole force drawn out, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was 2250 Europeans, and 1300 Sepoys : 150 Europeans and 300 Sepoys continued at the batteries against Vandivash ; but none of the Morattoes, although 3000, left the ground and protection of their own camp to assist their allies in this decisive hour.

The sight of the French army issuing into the open plain gave Colonel Coote all he intended by the preceding operations of the day. He instantly halted his lines, which had advanced some way along the foot of the mountain. Facing as soon as they halted, the two first lines were in order of battle, opposite, but obliquely, to the enemy. The baggage was sent back under the escort of two companies of Sepoys, to a village in the rear, and the cavalry as before, took their place in the third line.

The English army consisted of 1900 Europeans, of whom 80 were cavalry, 2100 Sepoys, 1250 black horse, and 26 field-pieces. In the first line were Coote's regiment on the right, the Company's two battalions in the centre, Draper's on the left ; but all without their grenadiers ; and 1800 Sepoys were equally divided on the right and left of the Europeans in this line ; in the intervals of which were 10 pieces of cannon, three on each side of the Company's battalions, and two between Coote's and Draper's and the Sepoys. In the second line were all the grenadiers of the army, 300, with a field-  
piece

piece next, and beyond 200 Sepoys on each of their flanks : the cavalry formed the third line ; the 80 Europeans, as before, in the <sup>1760</sup>  
~~January~~ centre of the black horse ; the two field-pieces with the two companies of Sepoys of the morning still continued apart, advanced as before a little on the left of the first line.

As the English army were marching up, and before they were within cannon shot, Mr. Lally, putting himself at the head of the European cavalry on the right, set off with them, and taking a large sweep on the plain, came down, intending to fall upon the horse of the English army, which made their third line. The black horse, who were nine-tenths of this body, pretended to wheel, in order to meet the enemy's, but purposely confused themselves so much, that some went off immediately, which gave a pretext to the rest to follow them, and the 80 Europeans were left alone, who faced and drew up properly to receive the charge, relying on better assistance. As soon as the intention of Mr. Lally was understood, the division of Sepoys on the left of the first line were ordered to fall back in an angle from the front, ready to take the enemy's cavalry in flank as they were approaching, but performed the evolution with so little firmness, that little hope was entertained of any execution from their fire ; but Captain Barker with the two guns of the separate detachment, had watched, and directing his own by the movement of the enemy, was within point blank of them just before they were opposite and riding in on the flank and rear of the horse, where only the European were ready to oppose them, for all the black were gone. In less than a minute the quick firing of the two guns brought down ten or fifteen men or horses, which, as usual, threw the next to them, and they the whole, into confusion ; and the horses growing every moment wilder, all turned and went off on the full gallop, leaving Mr. Lally, as he asserts, singly alone. If so, he could not have staid long where he was, for the European horse, on seeing the enemy's check, were advancing ; and many of the black, encouraged by the security, were returning, and the whole soon after set off after the enemy, whom they pursued in a long course quite to the rear of their camp.

1760      The English army halted ten minutes in attention to this attack,  
January. during which the French line cannonaded, but beyond the proper distance even for ball, and nevertheless often fired grape, and neither with any effect. The English did not begin to answer until nearer, and then perceiving their own fire much better directed, halted in order to preserve this advantage, as long as the enemy permitted it to continue, by not advancing from the front of their camp. Mr. Lally retiring from the English cavalry, and deserted by his own, rejoined his line of infantry, which he found suffering, and with much impatience, from the English cannonade : his own impetuosity concurred with their eagerness to be led to immediate decision, and he gave the order to advance. The English line was not directly opposite to the front of the French, but slanting outwards from their left, which required the French troops on this side to advance much less than those of their right, who had more ground to wheel, in order to bring the whole line parallel to that of the English.

Colonel Coote seeing the enemy coming on gave the final orders to his own. None but the Europeans of the first and second lines were to advance any farther. The Sepoys on the wings of both, and the cavalry in the third line, were to continue where they were left, and to take no share in the battle, until they should hereafter receive orders how to act.

The enemy began the fire of musketry at one o'clock, but Colonel Coote intended to refrain until nearer ; nevertheless the company of Coffrees, which was inserted in one of the Company's battalions, gave their fire without the order of their officers, and it was with difficulty that the irregularity was prevented from extending. Colonel Coote was at this time passing from the right to the left to join his own regiment, and received two or three shot in his cloaths from the fire of the Coffrees. As soon as he arrived at his regiment they began, and the fire became general through the whole line.

Coote's had only fired twice, when Lorrain formed in a column twelve in front : the operation is simple and was expeditious. Colonel Coote made no change in the disposition of his regiment, but

but ordered the whole to preserve their next fire ; which Lorrain 1760 coming on almost at a run, received at the distance of 50 yards in their front and on both their flanks; it fell heavy, and brought down many, but did not stop the column. In an instant the two regiments were mingled at the push of bayonet; those of Coote's opposite the front of the column were immediately borne down, but the rest, far the greatest part, fell on the flanks, when every man fought only for himself, and in a minute the ground was spread with dead and wounded, and Lorrain having just before suffered from the reserved fire of Coote's, broke, and ran in disorder to regain the camp. Colonel Coote ordered his regiment to be restored to order before they pursued, and rode himself to see the state of the rest of the line.

As he was passing on, a shot from one of the guns with Draper's regiment, struck a tumbril in the retrenched tank on the left of Lally's, where the marines were posted, and the explosion blew up 80 men, many of whom, with the chevalier Poete, were killed dead, and most of the others mortally hurt. All who were near, and had escaped the danger, fled in the first impulse of terror out of the retrenchment, and ran to gain the camp by the rear of Lally's, and were joined in the way by the 400 Sepoys at the tank behind, who, although they had suffered nothing, likewise abandoned their post. Colonel Coote on the explosion, sent orders by his aid de camp Captain Izer, to Major Brereton, to advance with the whole of Draper's regiment, and take possession of the retrenched tank before the enemy recovered the confusion which he judged the explosion must have caused; as in this situation they would command, under cover, the flank of Lally's regiment. The ground on which Draper's was standing opposite to Lally's when the order came, obliged them, in order to prevent Lally's from enfilading, or flanking them as coming down, to file off by the right. Mr. Bussy, who commanded on this wing, had before endeavoured to rally the fugitives, of whom he had recovered 50 or 60, and adding to them two platoons of Lally's, led and posted them in the tank, and then returned to support them with the regiment. But Brereton's files kept wheeling at a distance, and moving at the quickest pace, suffered little from their fire, and coming upon the

left

1760 left of the retrenchment, assaulted it impetuously, and carried it after receiving one fire of much execution from the troops within, under which Major Brereton fell mortally wounded, and when fallen refused the assistance of the men next him, but bid them follow their victory. The first of Draper's who got into the retrenchment fired down from the parapet upon the guns on the left of Lally's, and drove the gunners from them; whilst the rest, being many more than required to maintain the post, formed, and shouldered under it, extending on the plain to the left to prevent the regiment of Lally, if attempting to recover the post, from embracing it on this side. Mr. Bussy wheeled the regiment of Lally, and sent off platoons from its left, to regain the retrenchment, whilst the rest were opposed to the division of Draper's on the plain. But the platoons acted faintly, only skirmishing with their fire instead of coming to the close assault. The action likewise continued only with musketry, but warmly, between the two divisions on the plain, until the two field-pieces, attached to the right of Draper's, which they had left behind when marching to attack the retrenchment, were brought to bear on the flank of Lally's, who had none to oppose them; on which their line began to waver, and many were going off. Mr. Bussy, as the only chance of restoring this part of the battle, put himself at their head, intending to lead them to the push of bayonet, but had only advanced a little way when his horse was struck with a ball in the head, and floundering at every step afterwards, he dismounted; during which the fire from Draper's had continued, of which two or three balls passed through his cloaths, and when he alighted only 20 of Lally's had kept near him, the rest had shrunk. Two platoons set off on the full run from Draper's to surround them: the officer demanded and received Mr. Bussy's sword, and sent him with a guard into the rear; he was conducted to Major Monson, who had wheeled three companies of the grenadiers of the second line, and was halting with them and their field-pieces at some distance, ready if necessary to support the event of Draper's. Mr. Bussy asked who the troops he saw were; and was answered 200 grenadiers, the best men in the

the army, who had not fired a shot ; he clasped his hands in surprise and admiration, and said not a word.

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During the conflict on this side, the two centers, which were composed of the troops of the two East India Company's, had kept up a hot, but distant fire ; neither chusing to risque closer decision until they saw the event between Draper's and Lally's ; but as soon as Lally's broke, the enemy's center went off likewise, but in better order, although in haste, to regain their camp. Many of Coote's, in the first fury of victory, had pursued their antagonists of Lorrain up to the retrenchment, by which the fugitives entered the camp : they might have suffered by this rashness, if the guard there, as well as the nearest Sepoys along the ridge, had not taken fright, and abandoned their posts on seeing the rout of Lorrain. It took some time to bring the pursuers back to their colours, when the officers, sending off the wounded, formed the rest into their ranks, and afterwards only made the appearance of advancing, whilst the rest of the battle remained in doubt, lest Lorrain with the Sepoys should rally ; to prevent which the four field-pieces on the left kept up an incessant fire plunging into the camp.

As soon as the other wing and the center of the enemy's army gave way, their opponents, the Company's battalion and Draper's regiment got into order, and with Coote's, who were ready, advanced to the pursuit, leaving their artillery behind. They entered the enemy's camp without meeting the least opposition. India and Lally's had passed through it hastily to the other side, although not in rout as Lorrain's before. Mr. Lally, after the rout of Lorrain, rode away to join his own regiment on the left, but on the way saw the explosion of the tumbril at the retrenched tank, the dispersion of the marines in this post, and the flight of the Sepoys out of the tank behind. He was in this instant near, and intended to speak to Mr. Bussy, but turned suddenly, and ordered the Sepoys stationed along the ridge in front of the camp to advance. None obeyed ; and most of them being those of Zulphacarjung who had served with Mr. Bussy in the Decan, he rashly suspected treachery, and, unable to controul the impulse of distraction, rode into the camp to stop the fugitives of Lorrain.

The

1760 The whole body of the French cavalry, near 300, who were all Europeans, appeared on the plain in the rear of the camp to which they had retreated, followed by the cavalry of the English army, whose encounter they had hitherto avoided by abler evolutions: so that neither of these two bodies had been within sight of the brunt between the two infantries. The French cavalry chanced to be near enough to see the flight of Lorrain through the camp, and, animated by a sense of national honour, resolved to protect them, if, as might be expected, they should endeavour to escape still farther by gaining the plain. In this purpose they united their squadrons, and drew up in the rear of the camp, and in face of the English cavalry, of whom the black horse, awed by their resolution, dared not, and the European were too few, to charge them. This unexpected succour probably prevented the utter dispersion of the French army. There were in the rear of the camp three field-pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition; at which the fugitives of Lorrain, encouraged by the appearance of the cavalry, stopped, and yoked them. These protections restored confidence to Lally's and the India battalion as they arrived, likewise beaten from the field. They set fire to the tents and undangerous stores near them, and the whole filed off into the plain in much better order than their officers expected. The three field-pieces kept in the rear of the line of infantry, and behind them moved the cavalry. They passed to the westward, and when opposite to the pettahs of Vandivash were joined by the troops, who had continued at the batteries there, which they abandoned, leaving all the stores and baggage, and received no interruption from the garrison as they were going off. The Morattoes, who were under the mountain when the cannonade began, intended not only to protect their own camp, but to fall upon the baggage of the English army; but when they saw the whole body of Sepoys remaining in the rear of the action, were deterred from advancing to the village, to which the baggage was sent; and having their own all ready loaded on their bullocks, sent off the whole train to the westward soon after the cannonade commenced; and with the first notice from their scouts of the rout of Lorrain, began to go off themselves.

themselves. Their rout led them across the way, along which the 1760 French were retreating ; whom 700 of them joined and accompanied. Colonel Coote sent repeated orders to his cavalry to harass and impede the retreat of the French line. They followed them five miles until five in the afternoon, but the black horse could not be brought up within reach of the carbines of the French cavalry, and much less of their field-pieces. The brunt of the day passed intirely between the Europeans of both armies, the black troops ~~of~~ neither ~~had~~ had any part in it, after the cannonade commenced. The commandants of the English Sepoys complimenting Colonel Coote on the victory, thanked him for the sight of such a battle as they had never seen.

Twenty-four pieces of cannon were taken, 19 in the field and camp, and five in the battery against Vandiwash, 11 tumbrils of ammunition, all the tents, stores, and baggage, that were not burnt. Two hundred of the Europeans were counted dead in the field, and 160 were taken, of whom 30 died of their wounds before the next morning ; six of the killed, and 20 of the prisoners, were officers : wounded continually dropt on the road ; so that the immediate diminution of the enemy's force was computed 600 men. Of the English army, 63 Europeans were killed, and 124 wounded, in all 190 ; of this number, 36 of the killed, and 16 of the wounded, belonged to the Company's battalions, 17 and 66 to Draper's, 13 and 36 to Coote's regiment ; four of the European horse, and two of the artillery, were wounded, but none of either killed. Of the black troops, 17 of the horse were killed, and 32 wounded : in all, 22 and 47 : of the Sepoys only 6 and 15. The killed, as well in the European as the black troops, was, although not in the different bodies, one half of the number wounded, a proportion on the whole which rarely happens, excepting as in this action, by cannonade.

The first news of the victory was brought to Madrass at sun-rise the next morning by one of the black spies of the English camp. At noon came in another, with a note of two lines, written with a pencil, by Colonel Coote on the field of battle ; other accounts followed, and soon after eye-witnesses. The joy which this success diffused throughout the settlement, was almost equal to that of

1760 Calcutta on the victory at Plassey. Their congratulations to Colonel Coote and the army were abundant as their joy.

January. The day after the battle scarcely sufficed for the variety of orders necessary to restore the army to its strength, and to make the dispositions, by which Colonel Coote, with his usual activity, resolved to prosecute his success. Captain Wood was ordered to advance with his garrison from Covrepauk, and invest the fort of Arcot; Lieutenant Chisholm to send to Covrepauk the sick and invalids left by the army at Conjeveram: Madrass was requested to send to Conjeveram the recovered men of the King's regiments left in their hospital, together with stores, battering cannon, and ammunition: this line was meant to sustain the siege of Arcot. Whatsoever other troops could be spared from Madrass were to be sent to Vandivash, with medicines and conveniences for the wounded there. The baggage at Outramalore was ordered to rejoin the army; a letter was written to Innis-Khan, advising him to quit the province, with all his Morattoes, without delay, or that no quarter would be given to any of them wheresoever met. Orders were issued for 1000 of the black horse to march to the south; 200 set off immediately to plunder and lay waste the country between Allamparvah and Pondicherry: the next day, which was the 25th, 800 with 20 of the hussars, under the command of Vasserot, marched with the same intent against the districts between Pondicherry and Gingee, and were to act in correspondence with the other detachment.

The French army reached Chittapett the next day, where they only remained the day after; and then Mr. Lally, without reinforcing the garrison, fell back with all the European force, to Gingee, sending the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung, of whom he had still suspicious, although Mr. Bussy was taken, to act under the commandant at Arcot, and advised the Morattoes to renew their incursions to the north of the Paliar. Colonel Coote, on intelligence of Mr. Lally's retreat, and the little care he had taken of Chittapett, resolved to attack this place before he marched against Arcot. The baggage from Outramalore, waiting for some stores from Chinglapett, did not arrive until the 26th. In the same evening, a detachment

detachment marched from Vandivash, and the next morning invested Chittapett, when the commandant, De Tilly, refused to surrender. On the 28th, the whole army encamped within cannon-shot, and the commandant still persisting in his refusal, a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected in the night, against the N. E. angle, and a howitz was planted in the pettah, to enfilade the north line of the rampart. The fire opened at five the next morning, and the breach was nearly practicable by eleven, when a flag of truce appeared, and De Tilly surrendered without terms. The garrison consisted of four commissioned officers, and 52 private Europeans, with 300 Sepoys. In the hospitals were 73 Europeans, wounded in the late battle. The artillery were nine pieces of cannon ; the store of ammunition was considerable, and amongst the arms were 300 excellent muskets, which were distributed amongst the English Sepoys. The garrison reported, that a party, with two field-pieces, were marching from Arcot and Gingee, having taken the round-about road by Arni and Trinomalee ; on which Captain Stephen Smith was detached, with 200 black horse, and two companies of Sepoys, to intercept them.

In the mean time, the horse sent to the southward had performed their mission with great alacrity, having burnt 84 villages, and swept away 8000 head of cattle, many of which were of those the Morattoes had taken on the north of the Paliar, and sold to whomsoever would buy them, at four-pence a head. The whole collection was driven under different convoys to Vandivash, Carangoly, and Outramalore, and more than restored the number which these districts had lost. Besides what they had sold, they had driven away a great multitude of the best cattle into the vallies leading from Lalliput to Damalcherri, which they intended to send, with the rest of their booty, to their own country on the other side the hills ; but the menaces and success of Colonel Coote raised apprehensions in Innis Khan, that he might risque the loss of this plunder, if he continued any longer in the province. He therefore quitted Arcot, with all his Morattoes, on the same day that Chittapett surrendered ; and continued his march through the pass, from

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1760 whence he wrote to Mr. Pigot, that he should at any time here-  
January. after be ready to wait on him with his troops, if they could agree upon the terms.

On the 30th, intelligence was received from Captain Wood, that he had marched with his garrison of Covrepauk to Arcot, and found the Sepoys of Zulphacarjung strongly posted in the streets of the town; he nevertheless attacked them, and after much firing drove them from their stands, with considerable loss on their side, and little on his own. They retreated out of the town, as the garrison in the fort did not want their service. On the 31st, the army, which had moved by two successive divisions, encamped near Arni, where they were rejoined by the detachment sent with Captain Stephen Smith, who had taken the party they had been sent after, which was much less than had been represented, consisting only of 20 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, escorting two brass field-pieces, which Mr. Lally had ordered from Arcot. Captain Smith had likewise picked up three commissaries, who were travelling to Pondicherry in their pallankeens.

February. The next day, which was the first of February, Colonel Coote, with the first division of the army, joined Captain Wood in the town of Arcot, having left the second with Major Monson, to attack Timery, which lies in the road. This fort being very small, although well built, only shells were fired, which before the evening reduced the garrison to surrender: they were one serjeant commanding 20 soldiers, and 60 Sepoys, with five pieces of cannon. The next day Major Monson arrived at Arcot, and all immediately set to work in erecting batteries, for which Captain Wood had prepared the materials, and had nearly finished one on the north face of the fort.

The defences of the fort had been greatly improved since it was defended by Captain Clive, against Rajahsahib, in 1752. The English had contributed most; but the French finished what was intended, but left undone by them, when they abandoned the fort on Mr. Lally's approach to Madrass. The ditch was mostly in the solid rock, and had every where been dug to man height: the faussebray

was clear, but open ; being neither skirted with a parapet-wall, nor even with a palisade : a glacis, and a covered-way, had been carried round the fort ; and from the center of the north-side of the covered-way projected a strong ravelin, mounting six guns, round which the glacis was continued ; a gate with a draw-bridge communicated with this ravelin : the narrow rampart of the old wall had in many places been widened, and ramps raised to it, for the ready running up of cannon ; each of the towers, of which there were twenty-two, was rendered capable of a gun of any size, those at the four angles would admit three, and the platforms of the two gateways more. The extent of the fort from the western to the esatern side is nearly 800 yards ; the eastern face 350 ; but the southern wall, receding as it stretches to the eastward, reduces the eastern face to 260 yards, of which 50 are occupied in the middle by a gate-way, and the main rampart on this face had only the two towers in the angles.

Two batteries were raised to the East ; one, of three embrasures in the front of some houses, standing at the distance of 360 yards, nearly opposite to the rampart between the gateway and the tower in the angle on its right ; and was intended to breach in the interval : the other battery was on the left of this, but 100 yards nearer ; it mounted only two guns, of which, one was to dismantle the tower in the angle to the right of the gateway, and the other the angle on the right of the gateway itself. A battery of three guns was raised to the south, nearly opposite the s. w. angle of the fort, and bore upon the lower in this angle, and the two next to the eastward. This battery was at the distance of 200 yards, where a few houses gave shelter to the guards, and covered the workmen in the outset of the approaches. The fourth battery was that raised by Captain Wood on the north ; it was to the left of the ravelin, at the distance of 200 yards, and mounted two guns, which were to plunge over the ravelin, in order to break the drawbridge behind, by which the ravelin communicated across the ditch with the body of the fort : but this battery was of little use because it enfiladed no part of the rampart, and the ravelin it fired upon bore only one gun against the two batteries

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1760 batteries to the eastward, and, in case the bridge should be broke, <sup>February.</sup> the guard would be withdrawn into the fort, where their service, if the breach should be assaulted, would be of more detriment than their continuance in the ravelin ; and the battery was employed only because it was ready.

On the 3d and 4th, whilst the batteries were constructing, the garrison threw many shells to interrupt the work, but no men were hurt by them. On the 5th, all the three batteries opened ; and the garrison still continuing their shells, returned likewise on all sides with more cannon than fired upon them ; and a soldier was killed on the N. E. attack, and four artillery-men to the south. On the 6th, the enemy dismounted two guns in the battery of three to the east, in which two Europeans were killed and two wounded, and two were likewise wounded at the south battery. This day, 200 cohorn-shells arrived from Madrass, instead of eight-inch shells for the howitz, which was the only piece of bombarding artillery with the army ; no powder came with the shells ; and from the defence, the stock in camp seemed likewise to be exhausted before the place could be opened to assault ; and shot grew equally scarce. Four hundred bullocks were therefore sent off to bring a supply of both from Madrass, with two eighteen-pounders to replace the two which had been dismounted. In the night between the 6th and the 7th, the army began their approaches from both attacks. On the 7th, two eighteen-pounders arrived from Chinglapett ; but from the want of serviceable bullocks they were accompanied by only 50 shot, and 50 barrels of powder expected with them were still lagging on the road. From the preceding to the present evening, only one man was killed, and two wounded. The approaches were pushed on all night ; and the next day, which was the eighth of the month, arrived the powder from Chinglapett, and a quantity was discovered buried in one of the houses of the town ; but all the shot were so nearly expended, that, at four in the afternoon, Colonel Coote beat a parley, in order to get time to pick up what the enemy had fired. The French officer, Captain Hussy, accepted the message, which was a summons to surrender, as he could expect no suc-  
cours :

cours : he answered, that not a man had been killed in the fort; 1760 but that he was willing to surrender it, if not relieved before, <sup>February.</sup> at the end of six days, on condition the garrison should be free, have the honours of war, and retire to Pondicherry. This to and fro lasted two hours, when the firing was renewed until dark. The loss this day was only one man killed, and two wounded. In the night, the trenches to the s. were pushed on with much diligence, and the garrison employed every means to interrupt their progress, cannon and shells from the body of the place, musketry, grenades, and fire-balls, which set on fire the blinds, gabions, and fascines of the advancing sap, dangerously wounded Ensign Macmahon, who conducted it, killed one, and wounded ten more of the men employed. Nevertheless, the sap before the morning was very near the foot of the glacis. With the day, which was the 9th, the batteries, having received some more shot from Chinglapett, continued, and by noon their fire had opened both breaches to six feet of the bottom of the rampart; and had dismantled the towers that flanked them : but still the ditch remained to be filled, and no lodgement way yet made in the covered-way. Great therefore was the surprize, to see a flag, followed by a voluntary offer of surrendering the next day, if allowed the honors of war; which as before, implied that the garrison were not to be made prisoners. Colonel Coote refused ; and soon after came another letter, offering as the condition, that they might all retire to Pondicherry on their paroles not to serve again. Colonel Coote replied, that he should allow the officers and men whatsoever belonged to them, and good treatment ; but reserved the right of disposing of their persons : at the same time, he invited the commandant to supper, who came. The fort was closely surrounded during the night, to prevent any of the garrison from escaping; and early the next morning, the grenadiers of the army took possession of the gates. The garrison consisted of 11 officers, three of whom were captains, and 236 soldiers and artillery-men, in all 247 Europeans, and nearly the same number of Sepoys. The artillery were 4 mortars, and 22 pieces of cannon, of which some were eighteen-pounders : there was likewise a plentiful stock of ammunition,

1760 ammunition, and military stores of all kinds. The batteries must have ceased firing the next day, until convoys arrived ; the garrison had not lost three men, and the fort might have held out ten days longer before the assault by storm could be risked. They extenuated the early surrender by the certainty of not being relieved. It required the respite of some days to refit the wear and tear which the army had endured during the activity of the late operations ; for all the carriages were shattered, all the men wanted clothing, and all the bullocks were sore.

Colonel Coote, in consideration of Mr. Bussy's generosity to the English factory when he took Vizagapatam, had permitted him to repair to Pondicherry from the field of battle, immediately after he was taken. He arrived there the next day, and represented the defeat as far from irretrievable. On the 25th in the evening, came in Mr. Lally, and the troops were following from Gingee to Valdore. His ill success, and the abandoning the field, rendered him still more odious than ever. No invective, howsoever unjust, was spared. Cowardice borrowing courage from drunkenness was imputed as the cause of wrong dispositions, redressed by worse, until the battle was lost, and the retreat to Pondicherry as a design to lose the city, in revenge for the universal detestation in which he was held.

Nevertheless, the best ability and will would have been perplexed what measure to pursue after the defeat. The necessity of refurnishing the army with the stores and artillery they had lost, would alone have required them to fall back near to Pondicherry ; and the protection of the districts in the rear of Alamparwah and Gingee now became of great concernment ; for since the loss of Masulipatam of the northern provinces, and of their settlements in Bengal, very little grain in proportion to the former importations had been brought to Pondicherry by sea ; and the distresses for money to answer more immediate calls had hitherto prevented the government from laying in a store of provisions ; so that their greatest resource at this time was from the harvests in these districts, which was ripe and gathering in.

The interruptions continually opposed by the garrison of Trichinopoly to the French troops remaining in the island Seringham, had prevented

prevented the controllers, appointed to manage these districts, from collecting enough to defray the expences of the late expedition, although the revenues, if unmolested, would have furnished more: Mr. Lally had ordered the whole to return, and expected they would join him before Vandivash. They were, besides the 300 Europeans in Seringham, two detachments lately sent from Pondicherry, with stores and ammunition, who were arrived, and halting at Utatore. The manager appointed to collect the revenues, who was a counsellor of Pondicherry, thought that matters would mend, when he should be reinforced by the detachments at Utatore, and ventured to disobey the orders. The Nabob and Captain Joseph Smith at Tritchinopoly resolved, as the best means of preventing the arrival of the detachments, to get possession of the fortified pagoda of Pitchandah, on the farther bank of the Coleroon, which terminates the only high road leading from Samiaveram and Utatore into the Island of Seringham. The pagoda was reported to be garrisoned only by a company of Sepoys, with a few Europeans. Accordingly Captain Richard Smith, who was recovered of his wound, crossed the river on the 28th of December, and took the command of the country troops, and those from the garrison, which had continued at Samiaveram since the defeat of the French party, which had advanced a few days before. Early the next morning, Captain Joseph Smith moved with a party from the city, and began to cannonade the pagoda of Seringham from across the Caveri, in order to divert the French troops from sending a reinforcement to Pitchandah; for the attack of which, his fire upon Seringham was to be the signal. The troops from Samiaveram were in time on their ground near Pritchandah. The two field-pieces which were to beat down the gate were in the road; the oxen were cast off from them, and they were to be dragged the rest of the way, which was 50 yards, to a choultry within six yards of the gate. The troops were not discovered until they had got under the wall, and were fixing the scaling-ladders: the garrison, more numerous than supposed, fire hotly from the walls, and especially on the field-pieces. Most of the Europeans in the detachment were foreigners, and none of those employed in bringing on the field-pieces liked the service; and to encourage them,

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1760 Captain Smith and Lieutenant Horne pulled themselves at the guns ;  
February. their example brought more assistance : but of ten, who were at the gun with Smith, two were shot dead, and three wounded, before they got them into the choultry, when a few rounds brought down the gateway ; in this instant Captain Smith received a ball under his shoulder, which totally disabled him. Lieutenant Horne then took his place and endeavoured to lead the men to the assault, but the detachment had suffered so severely that none would follow him ; he, however, prevailed on them to abide, and bring off the wounded, and the two guns. Soon after, a certain account was received of the strength of the French parties at Utatore, which appeared an overmatch for the dispirited troops at Samiaveram : nor could Tritchinopoly spare a reinforcement equal to what the French troops in the island might then safely send to act in conjunction with those coming from Utatore ; the whole detachment at Samiaveram were therefore recalled, and arrived the second of February at Tritchinopoly. Their retreat relieved the French troops in the pagoda of Seringham from great distress ; for they had little ammunition left, and straightened towards the Caveri by the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and on the other side of the Coleroon by parties from the encampment at Samiaveram, they could neither venture out to seek, nor the country people to bring them in provisions ; so that all their subsistence, for several days, had been what they had plundered from the bramins in the pagoda, whose houses they pulled down for fire-wood to dress the victuals they found in them.

The French troops at Utatore having waited for some stores, which were lagging on the road, did not arrive at Seringham until the 8th : they were 140 Europeans, five pieces of cannon, and 600 Sepoys ; and brought with them a competent stock of ammunition and spare arms. A day or two after their arrival, 200 of their Europeans, with 600 Sepoys, commanded by Hussan Ally, marched against Totcum, which had been taken for the Nabob on the 26th of December. The garrison left in it were four companies of Sepoys, under the command of two European serjeants ; all of whom, although there were guns in the fort, behaved very ill, and

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surrendered the place before any impression had been made on the 1760  
walls.

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At the same time that Mr. Lally recalled the troops from Seringham, he likewise ordered the fort of Devicotah to be evacuated ; and the garrison, having made several breaches in the walls and towers, marched away in the beginning of February, but left a company of Sepoys in the pagoda of Atchaveram, which stands five miles inland of Devicotah.

Captain Joseph Smith, on this intelligence, detached two companies of Sepoys, under the command of serjeant Sommers, on whose approach the French Sepoys at Atchaveram were reinforced by another company from the pagoda of Chilambarum, with which they marched out, and met Sommers's detachment on the plain, who routed them completely, taking five stand of their colours, with four of their officers, and, beside the Sepoys who were killed, many were drowned in the hurry of crossing the Coleroon. Immediately after this encounter, Sommers proceeded, took possession of Devicotah, and began to repair the breaches.

The news of the victory at Vandivash reached Tritchinopoly on the 30th of January, and cleared at once the cloud of despondency which had overwhelmed the Nabob ever since he left Madrass to proceed thither. He pitched his tent, displayed his great standard, and declared his intention of returning into the Carnatic ; but waited until the French troops should be removed from Seringham ; and his wish was soon gratified ; for Mr. Lally, on his arrival at Pondicherry, despatched a second order, under the severest penalties of disobedience, for all the troops between Vollandah and Tritchinopoly to join his army without delay. They hoped to conceal their retreat from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, and made the preparations with all secrecy ; but some of the Malabars employed by them were natives of this part of the country, who, solicitous to secure pardon, if not favour, with the change of government, gave immediate and constant intelligence to Captain Joseph Smith, who made ready to take such advantages as usually occur, when troops retreating are pursued. The

1760 whole body of the French troops were 450 Europeans and Coffrees, and 1200 Sepoys ; of which 150, with the commissary, were in the pagoda of Jumbakissna. The retreat was appointed at nine at night, <sup>February.</sup> on the 6th of February ; of which previous intelligence was brought to Captain Smith ; and almost the whole garrison of Tritchinopoly were on the bank of the Caveri, opposite to the pagoda of Seringham, ready to move as soon as the enemy. The notice were punctual ; and the first division of the English troops entered the south gate of the pagoda as the last of the French were going out of the opposite : the rest of the English troops marched round the pagoda to the west. When all were united on the north side, they advanced to the bank of the Coleroon, and, when nearly opposite to Pitchandah, heard the sound, and thought they saw the motion of a line of men marching across them to pass the river. Capt. R. Smith, who led the troops of the garrison, formed in order to receive or attack the strangers ; but Captain Joseph coming up bid him not fire, because he had ordered the troops of the polygar Tondiman, which had for some time attended the garrison, to advance between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakissna, and what troops they now descried might as probably be them, as a part of the enemy ; who they really were, being those moving from Jumbakissna to join their main body : they were soon after ascertained by a black servant of R. Smith's, who had straggled into their line, and talking, was answered in French. On which the English troops immediately proceeded, and began to enter the bed of the Coleroon, as the enemy were leaving the farther bank, who in their hurry flung away fifty barrels of gunpowder, which were recovered ; and they destroyed a tumbril of gun-ammunition at Pitchandah. But their line never stopped until they got to Utatore. The Nabob's horse followed, hanging in their rear, and continually picked up a deserter or a prisoner, in all 30 Europeans, or something belonging to their equipages and stores ; but the infantry, black and white, halted at Samiaveram until the horse returned, which was the next day ; when a detachment of 1000 Sepoys, and 50 Europeans, with two guns and a cohort, and part of the Nabob's horse, marched under the command

mand of Lieutenant Horne, against Totcum and Cortalum : at the same time, all the other troops returned from Samiaveram to Tritchinopoly ; and, besides what had been gathered in the road, brought in two excellent 18-pounders, which the enemy had left in the pagoda of Seringham. The Nabob, solicitous to make his new appearance in the Carnatic with as much figure as possible, requested Joseph Smith to go and ask 500 horse of the king of Tanjore. The king was ill, and with difficulty admitted the visit, but promised every thing, and referred the adjustment to his Dubbeer, or minister, which, amongst the Indians, is equivalent to the Duan of the Mahomedan princes. The Dubbeer, notwithstanding the late successes of the English arms, insisted, that the Nabob should furnish the pay and expences, which he knew would not be complied with ; and Captain Smith returned, as he had expected, without obtaining a single horseman. In the mean time, Hassan Ally had abandoned Totcum, on the appearance of Lieutenant Horne's detachment, but went away with the garrison, which were 400 Sepoys, to reinforce Cortalum. Lieutenant Horne followed him ; and here the enemy made a stand for three days, until a battery was raised, when they all went off in the night, leaving a gun and some ammunition in the fort. Some Sepoys were posted in both, and the rest of the detachment returned to the city ; where the Nabob was making, with accustomed tediousness, the preparations for his departure.

The ravages which had been committed by the English cavalry, in the districts around Pondicherry, brought forth a part of the French troops from Valdoor ; but not before the cavalry were gone off with their plunder. The French detachment seeing nothing to oppose them, advanced within 20 miles of Carangoly ; which, on intelligence of their approach, the Presidency reinforced with 40 Europeans. Captain Preston had already been sent to command there ; and on the 6th of February Colonel Coote had detached 500 black horse, and 20 hussars, from the siege of Arcot, with orders, if Preston should think proper, to lead them against the enemy's detachment, who, gaining intelligence of their march before they had reached Carangoly, retreated fast ; and on the 8th, 27 hussars with their horses deserted and came to Vandivash, where they

1760 <sup>February.</sup> they were enlisted in the English service. Mr. Lally, on hearing that his detachment was retreating, and that Arcot was pressed, took a sudden resolution of marching with all the rest of the cavalry, in order, as he gave out, either to throw reinforcements into Arcot, or to retake Chittapett by surprize, and release the wounded prisoners there; but the cavalry, when drawn out, mutinied, refused to proceed with him, and all went out of the bounds, as if they intended to go over to the English garrisons; their officers however brought them back; but such was the general discontent for want of pay, that several of the common soldiers were overheard, in the night of the 11th, proposing among themselves to turn the guns in the ramparts against the government house, as the only means of bringing Mr. Lally to reason. He immediately represented the depositions of the witnesses to Mr. De Leyrit and the Council, who, having no money in the public treasury, proposed expedients, which Mr. Lally did not approve. All the country in the rear of Vandivash and Chittapett, quite up to Pondicherry, had been let for five years to two of the European inhabitants of the colony, at the rent of 1,450,000 rupees a year: they were applied to in this exigency, and answered, that they had no money, having been disappointed of much they expected by the loss of Vandivash and Chittapett; on which the Malabar, to whom Mr. Lally had rented the districts round Arcot, whilst they remained under his authority, offered to advance 50,000 rupees in ten days, and 80,000 in twenty more, if what remained of the districts let to the two Europeans were leased out to him, with the addition of all the country to the south of Pondicherry, as far as Chillambarum and the banks of the Coleroon. His proposal was accepted; but the present assistance he supplied could not serve long, and the future depended on the protection of the countries: they were farmed to him at 1,750,000 rupees a year.

This arrangement was not approved by the council, because they doubted of the credit and integrity of the Malabars; and, perhaps because it was a supercession of their own authority in the administration of the revenues. Immediately after, arrived intelligence <sup>th</sup>

the loss of Arcot, which with that of Chittapett gave new scope to 1760  
the imputations against Mr. Lally. It was said, that he himself had <sup>February.</sup>  
declared, the one incapable of holding out four days, the other not  
more than five. Why then leave in them 400 Europeans, so much  
wanted in his own army, to fall a certain prey to the English ? But  
this conduct, as his retreat to Pondicherry, was not void of justifi-  
cation ; for, had he withdrawn these garrisons, the English army,  
having nothing to apprehend in their rear, might have immediately  
followed him to Gingee, and from thence to the adjacencies of Pon-  
dicherry, when the produce of the country, so necessary to store Pon-  
dicherry, would have fallen under the power of the enemy, whom  
the necessity of reducing Chittapett and Arcot had turned another  
way ; and, besides the time they must employ against these forts, other  
delays might concur to keep them still longer at a distance.

The English army, after the reduction of Arcot, encamped with-  
out the town, towards Velore. The Kellidar Mortizally trembled  
for his fort ; and having been very complacent to the English, since  
the French had been repulsed from before Madrass, he now intreat-  
ed the Presidency to spare the attack, and sent a present of 30,000  
rupees to Colonel Coote ; who refused it, signifying, that he was  
not empowered, either by the Nabob or the Presidency of Madrass,  
to levy tributes. The Kellidar replied, that it was intended as a  
homage to himself, a great commander, according to the custom of  
the country ; on which the money was accepted, and appropriated  
to the general stock of prize-money for the army.

The army had not restored its equipments sufficiently to move  
from the neighbourhood of Arcot until the 20th of February, and  
even then left behind two eighteen-pounders and a ten-inch howitz,  
which were not repaired. They halted this day at Timery, and  
500 Sepoys, with 100 black horse, were dispatched with Captain  
Stephen Smith against Trinomaly. The next day the army en-  
camped under Arni. The Kellidar of this fort, which is consi-  
derable, and a fief belonging to the king of Tanjore, had conducted  
himself with so much hospitality to both sides, that neither the  
French nor the Nabob considered him as an enemy. On the 23d  
they

1760 they arrived at Chittapett, when intelligence was received from ~~February~~ Stephen Smith, that he had got possession of the pettah of Tri-nomally; but that the troops in the fort seemed resolved to hold out. The pettah could not be maintained without the fort; and the possession of the fort was at this juncture of much consequence, as its detachments might harass and interrupt convoys of provisions coming from the country in the rear of the army, when advanced to the southward. Colonel Coote therefore reinforced Stephen Smith with two twelve-pounders, and 50 Europeans, who were French deserters lately incorporated into a company under the command of one of their own serjeants; they were called the French Volunteers, and were intended to be employed on hazardous services; but this did not prove one; for, although the guns could not breach, the garrison offered on the 29th to give up the fort, if they were permitted to march out free whither they pleased, with their arms and baggage; their terms were accepted: they were 250 Sepoys, and left six pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition, in the fort. Of the English detachment, one of the volunteers and a Lascar were killed, and a Sepoy wounded, during the attack.

On the 23d, Rear-Admiral Cornish arrived at Madrass, with six ships of the line. They were the squadron which had sailed under his command from England, and met Mr. Pococke, with his ships, off Pondicherry in October, whom they accompanied to Tellicherry: from whence they sailed again for the coast of Coromandel on the 15th of December, whilst Mr. Pococke, with his own, was proceeding to Bombay. Contrary winds and currents had retarded their passages from one coast to the other. The crews had received very little refreshment from land ever since they left England about this time in the preceding year, and many were down with the scurvy.

The army marched from Chittapett on the 26th, striking across the country to the s. e. On the 29th in the forenoon they arrived and halted at Tondivanum, a town of much resort, at which meet the high roads leading from Chittapett, Vandivash, Outramalore, and Carangoly, towards Pondicherry, from which place it is 30 miles

miles distant to the N. E. In the other direction of the country, 1760 it stands nearly midway between Gingee and Alamparvah on the sea-shore ; and on its left, five miles towards Alamparvah, is a fortified rock, called Permacoil. The wars between the two nations having never before brought any decision before this place, it had hitherto remained neglected by both : But as soon as the French army fell back towards Pondicherry, Permacoil became of importance to the protection of the intermediate districts ; and Mr. Lally, immediately after the defeat of Vandivash, had prevailed on the Kelladar to admit a party, with some cannon, into his fort ; but the easy reduction of Chittapett and Arcot made the Kelladar repent of his hasty compliance ; and, as soon as the English army were returning from Arcot to the southward, he wrote to Colonel Coote, pretending, that the French party had got into his fort by surprize, advised him to attack it, and promised all the assistance in his power ; and Colonel Coote resolved to try the sincerity of his professions.

In this intention, he set off before the army in the last march to Tondivanum, with most of the cavalry and two companies of Sepoys, and arriving there before day-break went on to reconnoitre Permacoil. Besides the fortified rock, lie others of less height before and behind it ; the direction in length of the whole plot is 1200 yards, and extends from the N. E. to the s. w. : end of the rocks lay nearest to Tondivanum ; but Colonel Coote, having no guide, followed the best ground, which brought him to the north-east end, opposite to the northern face of the pettah, which lies under the western side of the rock of Permacoil, and extends beyond it under part of the other rocks to the north. When near, the troops were fired upon by cannon from the nearest tower on the rock, and by field-pieces and musketry from the walls of the pettah below. Soon after came a man, commissioned by the Kellidar, who informed Colonel Coote, that the French in the fort were 50 Europeans, 30 Cofrees, and 50 Sepoys ; that they had got some guns up the rock ; but that four large pieces of cannon, which arrived the day before, were still remaining in the pettah below ; and offered to conduct them to the gate ; for, although the pettah was under the main rocks, the

1760 plain on all side round the walls was encumbered with large fragments, which might afford shelter to the approach. Colonel Coote immediately followed the guide with the Sepoys, ordering the horse to form, and keep on the left, under cover of the main rocks to the N. E.

February. The rock on which the fort of Permacoil stands does not extend, even at its base, more than 500 yards in length. In breadth, it is at the northern end about 400 yards, at the southern not more than 200: its height is likewise various, being at the narrow end 300 perpendicular feet, and diminishing by slopes and declivities to 200 at the other. Of these differences in the height, there is one more particularly marked, which crosses in a natural zig-zag of two re-entering angles, about the middle of the mountain, and all the ground to the eastward behind this ridge is 30 feet higher than the other part before it to the westward. This eastern part is the upper, and the only real fort; being inclosed and fortified with high stone walls and towers strongly built. The other inclosure, although called the lower fort, is only surrounded with a wall of loose stones, and was principally intended for the immediate refuge of the cattle and inhabitants on sudden alarm. The rock falls every where so steep, that the area of the fortified surface above is equal to half the base below. The adjacent rocks before and behind are not high enough to carry any detriment to its fortifications.

Colonel Coote with the Sepoys, led by the guide, took post behind some rocks opposite to the gateway in the north face of the pettah, which stands nearly in the middle of the rampart. Two large pieces of cannon, mounted on field-carriages, were standing at the entrance of the gateway, which was in the left side of its projection; and some Coffrees and Europeans, with two field-pieces, were on the tower just behind to protect them. This guard, knowing that the cavalry in the rear could not act on the ground where the Sepoys were, ventured to sally. Colonel Coote ordered Ensign Carty to meet them, with one of the companies of Sepoys; which turned out with great alacrity, gave their fire, and advanced to the bayonet. The French party, startled by their resolution, ran back, and were followed so

close

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close by Carty's company, and they by Colonel Coote with the other, that the fugitives made no stand at the gateway, but continued their flight, still pursued, through the pettah, to the foot of the rock at the farther end, where steps were cut winding up to the upper fort, by which they escaped into it ; but Colonel O'Kennedy, the commander, who was at the steps, and lame with old wounds, had very nearly been taken. Here were lying two twenty-four pounders, of which the garrison had burnt the carriages, because there was no path to draw, and no means to raise them, into the fort. As soon as the pettah was cleared of the enemy's guards, Colonel Coote posted the Sepoys in the best shelter the houses afforded against the fire of the cannon in the upper fort, and the musketry from the lower, which recommenced immediately, and continued through the day. The horse were distributed, some under the walls of the pettah, ready to dismount and assist, if any descent should be made ; and the rest in different guards round the hills. In the evening came up six companies of Sepoys, with the French Volunteers, and an eight-inch howitz, from Tondivanum : the enemy continued their fire through the night, and small parties came down the side of the rocks, who threw grenades, and fired musketry, by which a Sepoy was killed, and nine, with three Europeans, wounded before the morning ; no loss had been sustained in the day. All the return was from the howitz, which did no damage in either of the forts.

Before morning pioneers and tools arrived, and sufficient cover for the whole was formed with earth thrown up and houses broken down ; during which some were employed in raising and fixing the two pieces of cannon, one after the other, to transporting carriages, in order to carry them off, which was not executed without difficulty and time ; during which, the enemy fired down grenades and musketry, but did no mischief.

In the afternoon Colonel Coote summoned O'Kennedy, who sent down one of his men to receive the letter, and answered it with a temperate negative ; on which Colonel Coote resolved to surprize the lower fort. Two guides belonging to the Kellidar offered to

1760 shew the path leading up the north side of the hill, which being extremely rugged and difficult, was not likely to be suspected ; they proceeded with two compaies of Sepoys at eight at night ; at the same time a platoon of Coote's grenadiers, with another company of Sepoys, went up the steps leading from the pettah to the back of the upper fort, which made a false attack to divert the enemy from the real, which were forty minutes in gaining the summit, when the foremost got over the wall before they were discovered. The enemy's guards consisted chiefly of Sepoys, and all of them astonished by the first fire ran away from their different stations, and regained the upper fort, where Colonel O'Kennedy, ignorant of the numbers which had got into the lower, and perplexed by the false attack, would not risque a sally which might have recovered the loss ; but kept up a hot fire upon them by guess from the defences along the ridge which seperates the upper from the lower fort ; but with no effect, for the choultries and rocks rising every where afforded shelter. The guides, as soon as the party was established, came down with information of their success to Colonel Coote, who was waiting at the foot of the path, with the pioneer company, and the Volunteers of France, provided with ladders, gabions, and fascines, and immediately proceeded with them up the hill ; where as soon as they had joined the party above, the whole proceeded across the lower fort, to escalade the fortifications along the ridge, notwithstanding the garrison was prepared to receive them. The ridge might be ascended without clambering. The grenadiers carried the ladders ; the rest followed, ready to mount, and in the mean time fired up against the parapet ; from which the fire instantly became excessively hot. The ladders that were first applied proved too short ; it was supposed they would answer better in other parts, to which they were removed, and tried with as little success. Nevertheless the contest continued half an hour ; and the Sepoys behaved with as much eagerness as the Europeans, but many dropping or disabled, Colonel Cooté ordered the assault to cease. He received a wound in the knee ; his aid-de-camp, Captain Admas, was shot through the hip ; a serjeant of the pioneers, one of the French Volunteers,

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lunteers, and seven Sepoys, were killed ; 16 Europeans and 25 Sepoys were wounded : in the false attack on the upper fort, two Sepoys were wounded, and Ensign Blakeney was killed. The next day, which was the 3d of the month, the fire of the fort diminished considerably, as it was supposed, and rightly, from scarcity of ammunition. At noon, a letter came from Colonel O'Kennedy requesting a cessation of 24 hours, to obtain Mr. Lally's orders concerning the surrender : this was refused, and soon after he sent another letter requesting the honours of war, which were likewise denied. Several Europeans and Sepoys were killed and wounded through the day and night. Before noon of the next day, which was the fifth of the attack, a brass six-pounder was got up the hill with much difficulty by Captain Barker. There were two choultries in the lower fort, standing 100 yards from the ridge and rampart, which divide it from the upper : one of these choultries was near the wall which runs along the edge of the rock on the side over the pettah ; and in this choultry the field-piece was planted ; the other was a few yards on the left, which sheltered those whom it was not necessary to expose. The defences in the upper fort immediately opposite to the choultries lay in a large re-entering angle, at the two extremities of which was a round tower, one on the edge of the rock overlooking the pettah, the other about the middle of the ridge, which from hence falls back in another zig-zag out of sight of the choultries. The gate leading into the upper fort was on the left of the tower in the middle of the ridge. The field-piece managed by Captain Barker battered, firing upwards out of the choultry, against the gate and the parapet of the tower, both which were ruined before night ; but the garrison had heaped earth at the back of the gate, which continued to stop the entrance. Many of those exposed in this service suffered. New scaling-ladders had been provided ; and the next morning, as the troops were preparing to advance with them, the garrison beat the chamade, and surrendered at discretion. They were fifteen European gunners, chosen men, 32 Coffrees, and 100 Sepoys : only one of each had been killed. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, but not ammunition either

1760 either for them or the musketry sufficient to have stood the assault,  
 March. nor had the garrison two days provision left. The total loss and casualties of the Fnglish, through the attack, were four Europeans killed and 15 wounded, of the Sepoys 40 and 70 ; these troops had never behaved so well ; of their killed, one was the Subadhar, equivalent to the Captain of a company, and two were Jemidars, the next rank of officers. The gallantry of Bulwansing, who was the senior of the whole body in camp, was rewarded with a gold medal. The Kellidar, for his services, was continued in the fort, in which were left a company of Sepoys, with 12 Europeans and a lieutenant. A large detachment of the French army had advanced as far as Manour, within seven miles of Permacoil, and were in motion to throw in a considerable reinforcement of men and stores, at the very hour they heard of the arrival of the English army at Tondivanum, on which they retreated towards Pondicherry.

On the 7th, Colonel Coote went from the camp at Tondivanum, with the cavalry, black as well as Europeans, and six companies of Sepoys, to discover near the bounds of Pondicherry. The distance to the bound-hedge was 20 miles ; and the Sepoys, after marching 10, wanted rest, and were left in the village of Trichimungalam.

The French troops which had been detached to the relief of Permacoil, had, on their retreat, encamped four miles to the west of the town, and three from the bound-hedge. A large collection of sand-hills, of which the whole together is called the red-hills, rises about half a mile from the sea-shore, and a mile and half to the north of the town : they extend four miles to the west ward, and the last hill, where they cease on this side, is called Perimbé : across from north to south they extend two miles, and have passable dales between ; directly opposite to the side of Perimbé, stands the Fort of Villenore, a strong out-post, situated near the north bank of the river of Araincopang, which falls into the sea about 500 yards from the wall of Pondicherry, and in its course from Villenore forms a curve to the south. The Red-hill, on the other side the plain, recedes to the N. E. from Perimbé to its end towards the sea. So that the interval between Villenore and Perimbé is the narrowest part of the plain btween the

the river and the Red-hill, being here scarcely more than a mile, 1760 whereas farther back it is three. The plain as far as the bound-hedge was occupied by country houses, enclosures, avenues, and arable ground. The market of the French troops was in the village under Villenore. Temporary barracks for the European cavalry had been raised on the hill of Perimbé. Their foot and artillery were dispersed in the houses and enclosures which occupied the space between.

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Colonel Coote proceeded with the cavalry from Trichimungalam, not in the high road which passeth by Valdore, but across the country to the left, and came in about the middle of the Red-hill, and passing through its dales appeared on the outward ridge between Perimbé and the bound-hedge. The enemy had gained notice of his approach, but not of the force which accompanied him ; and, imagining that it consisted of foot as well as horse, suspected likewise that the main body of both might be marching to get between them and the bound-hedge, and impede their retreat into the limits. In this persuasion, all their infantry got into march with much hurry and confusion, to gain the avenue nearest the Red-hill, which, as well as another on its right, leads to the bound-hedge : they moved with all their field-pieces in front, to oppose the supposed danger, which if real would have been the greatest : but the European horse, which were 250 in three squadrons, remained on the hill of Perimbé to observe and protect their rear. Colonel Coote suspected the error which occasioned the disorder he observed in the infantry, and as fast as his troops came up ordered the European horse, which were only 80, with three squadrons of the blacks, to advance, and keep the enemy's cavalry in check, whilst he himself, with the main body, crossed over to the avenue, in which the last of their infantry were entering ; in whose rear he hung, having thus separated them from their cavalry, who, seeing their danger, retreated before the division advancing against them, to gain the other side of the avenue on the right of their infantry, whose flanks were already protected from the cavalry with Colonel Coote by the ditch on each side. Colonel Coote following the infantry, often advanced within

40 yards,

1760 40 yards, to draw their fire ; but the grenadiers of Lorrain, who formed the rear-guard, reserved it with much discipline. At length, however, the foremost troop of horse, led by Assaf beg, a Jemidar of great spirit, broke in upon a platoon, and cut down seven of them ; but the next troop drew up their bridles, and were afraid to follow the impression, which otherwise promised to break the whole column, which recovered, and continued its way as before, until they had passed the bound-hedge, under the redoubt of Valdore, which terminates the avenue along which they were marching, when the fire of the redoubt was left free, and Colonel Coote stopped the pursuit. In the mean while, the other division under the command of Captain De Buke, had crossed over to the village of Vil lenore, and routed the market-people there without resistance, and the black horse with him, joined by more from the main body, collected all worth the while they could carry of, and drove before them all the cattle. The whole assembled again on the hill of Perimbe, where they set fire to the barracks, and the carriage of an eighteen-pounder, for want of proper bullocks to draw it off. In the afternoon, the whole returned to Tritchimungalum, intending to rest the night there ; but a corporal of the dragoons deserting, they removed five miles farther back to Manoor ; from hence Colonel Coote sent orders to Major Monson, to march the army from Tondivanum against Alamparvah.

The next day he moved himself to Taliaveram, which is five miles from Manoor to the N. E. on the road towards Permacoil ; but few of the black horse accompanied him ; they were all dispersed to secure or sell the plunder they had got the day before. They, however, came back on the 9th, and he proceeded with them from Taliaveram again to the bound-hedge of Pondicherry, and observed very nearly, without annoyance. On his return, he went to Conymere, where he met Mr. Bussy by appointment, who had been recalled on his parole to Madrass, in order to be sent to Europe, in compliance with the earnest importunity of the Nabob, who regarded him as fraught with more dangerous resources than all his other enemies, and said that if he became free, and commanded, he would protract

protract the war ten years. On the 10th Colonel Coote came to Alamparvah, which the army had invested the day before ; but the wound he had received at Permacoil was so much exasperated by his late fatigue, that he could not any longer stir without danger, he therefore ordered Colonel Monson to carry on the siege of Alamparvah, but still continued in the camp.

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The fort of Alamparvah stands on the sea-shore, about 20 miles E. N. E. of Tondivanum, 15 E. of Permacoil, and 2½ to the N. of Pondicherry. It formerly belonged to the Nabobs of the province ; and was given to Mr. Dupleix by Murzafajing in 1750. It has many wells of good water, which is not to be found in all parts of the coast so near the sea. The fort was of stone, square, of moderate extent, with four round towers at the angles, a parapeted faussebray, and a wet ditch, but without a glacis. A pettah extends along the strand to the north, and fronts within 250 yards of the fort. An eight-inch howitz bombarded ; and a ricochet battery of two guns, to enfilade the north front from the west, was begun in the night, and finished before morning ; during which, a serjeant of pioneers and a Sepoy were killed. In the ensuing night, another battery of three eighteen-pounders was finished in the petteh, to batter the tower in the west angle of the north face ; and the loss during these 24 hours, was Lieutenant Angus, of Coote's regiment, and a grenadier killed. Both batteries opened together at day-light on the 12th, and in three hours dismounted most of the guns, and ruined the whole line of defence ; and in the afternoon the Chevalier Viart, who commanded, surrendered at discretion. The garrison, besides himself, a Lieutenant, and a surgeon, were 50 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. During the attack, three of their Europeans had been killed, and twelve wounded. There were in the fort 20 pieces of cannon, a howitz, and abundance of ammunition.

The season was now advancing, when the French squadron might be expected from the islands. The loss of Alamparvah deprived them of the only station under their command to the northward, and Karikal remained the only one they had to the southward of Pondi-

1760 <sup>March.</sup> cherry ; but the importance of Karical rose with the season, and the increasing distresses of the capital ; for becoming, with the change of the monsoon, the windward station, all their vessels arriving on the coast might get their first intelligence here, and, if the road were not occupied by a superior force, were always sure of water, and fresh provisions from the fort, which the foreign settlements of Negapatam and Tranquebar might or might not supply. The grain of the districts, which was considerable, was gathered, and, with what might be purchased in the plentiful country of Tanjore, would become a great resource to Pondicherry, continually losing its own districts by the successes of the army ; for it might be conveyed from Karical in the boats of the country, which, favoured by the wind and current, would almost make the passage in a night, and with little risque, even if discovered and pursued, as they can keep close to the surf, in shallow soundings, and along the shore swell of the sea, where vessels of European construction seldom chuse to venture. The French government already repented of the loss of such another possession in Devicotah, although not commanding equal advantages ; and had made a strong attempt to recover it. On the 24th of February, a detachment from Chilambrum of 30 troopers, 40 European infantry, and 400 Sepoys, with two field-pieces, invested the fort. On the 27th, they were joined by 80 Europeans and Coffrees from Pondicherry, when the whole entrenched themselves within 200 yards of the walls. The breaches which their garrison had made when they abandoned it, were not completely repaired ; and on the 29th in the morning, the enemy made an assault on that which was most practicable ; the fire lasted an hour, when they were repulsed, with the loss, as the serjeant supposed, of two officers, and 20 of their Europeans and Coffrees, and more of their Sepoys killed and wounded. They, however, during their stay, and on their retreat, sent and carried away a considerable quantity of grain, which had just been got up from the harvest of the districts.

The Presidency of Madrass now became anxious to get possession of Karical, before the French squadron should arrive on the coast ; but, as it was intended that the army should as soon as possible

ble encamp near Pondicherry, in order to intercept all convoys of provisions from the adjacent country, a body of troops sufficient for the attack of Karical could not be spared from the camp, without frustrating the other intention. Admiral Cornish contributed to alleviate part of the difficulty, by offering to proceed with all the men of war which had arrived with him, and to land their marines, which were about 300 ; the Presidency provided for the rest. All the artillery and stores for the siege, with the Chief Engineer, Mr. Call, and a few gunners, were to be sent in the ships from Madrass. Colonel Monson, who was to command, was to embark from Alamparvah, with the company of pioneers, which consisted of 50 choice Europeans, and with Captain Barker to direct the artillery. Captain Joseph Smith, who was escorting the Nabob from Tritchinopoly, was ordered to reinforce his detachment from this garrison to the strength of 1000 Sepoys, 100 European firelocks, 40 artillery-men, and six field-pieces ; with this force, he was to march away from wherever he might be, with all expedition ; and either invest or lay before Karical, as circumstances permitted, until the arrival of the ships. Captain Richard Smith, appointed to command in Tritchinopoly after the departure of Joseph, was to send from thence, through the country of Tanjore, Lascars for the service of the artillery, 500 Coolies to pull and carry burthens, tents, doolies for the sick and wounded, and cattle for provisions to the squadron as well as the troops on shore. The king of Tanjore was requested to send his troops, and every kind of assistance.

The Nabob, notwithstanding his eagerness to appear at the head of an army in the Carnatic immediately after the victory of Vandivash, was not ready to move from Tritchinopoly until the 18th of March, 40 days after he had received intelligence of that success, and a month after the French had abandoned the pagodas of Seringham. Besides the detachment from the garrison of Tritchinopoly, he was accompanied by 1000 horse, 1000 Sepoys, and a greater number of various sorts of good-for-nothing infantry, entertained by himself. They arrived at Volcondah on the 20th, from whence he was solicitous to proceed towards Areot ; but Captain Joseph Smith,

1760 in conformity to the orders of the Presidency, wished to lead him towards Pondicherry. This difference of opinion kept them some days at Volcondah, and as a reconciliation, by which some service might be obtained from the Nabob's troops, Captain Smith consented to march against Thiagar, which would bring them nearer Arcot, without being removed farther from Pondicherry. But the Presidency, at the same time that they sent orders to Captain Smith to march away with his detachment to Karical, enjoined the Nabob to keep with his own troops in the country to the s. of Gingee, between Volcondah and Chillambarum, and to employ them in reducing these districts, and especially in preventing any supplies of provisions from being conveyed out of them to Pondicherry, from whence he would have nothing to fear, as the English army would be advanced and lying between.

The number of manned Massoolas at Madrass, which are the only boats that can ply the surf, were not sufficient to carry off the ammunition and stores intended for the siege as fast as the men of war could have taken them in; and during this delay, the Falmouth of 60 guns was sent forward to take in Major Monson's party at Alamparvah, whilst the other ships were lading at Madrass: and on the 15th Colonel Coote, continuing much disordered with his wound, came in from the camp to adjust with the Presidency the prize-money accruing to the army from their late successes.

The Falmouth, standing into the road of Alamparvah on the 16th in the morning, discovered a ship at anchor close in shore, about two leagues to the northward of Pondicherry, and bore down to her with an easy sail, under French colours; but the stranger cut her cable, and ran ashore into the surf, which being boisterous, she immediately bilged, and all but three of the crew got ashore. The boats of the Falmouth, finding it impossible to get the ship off, set fire to her. She was the Harlem, which had been dispatched by Mr. Moracin from Ganjam to Mergui in the month of June, and was returning with rice and other provisions for Pondicherry, and had likewise tutenague and other merchandize on board, none of which

which could be recovered ; but the loss of the provisions was by far 1760 the greatest detriment to the enemy.

March.

Major Monson, with the pioneers and their equipments, embarked in the Falmouth from Alamparvah on the 25th ; they anchored in the road of Karical at day-break on the 28th, when the Captain to the Falmouth, Mathison, went in his boat with Major Monson to reconnoitre the shore. They discovered no signs, either of the people expected from Richard Smith at Tritchinopoly, or the detachment with Captain Joseph ; whose instructions had not reached them in time to be as yet fulfilled. At eight o'clock, the squadron, which had likewise sailed from Madrass on the 25th, appeared. Major Monson went on board Mr. Cornish's ship, and it was agreed, notwithstanding they were entirely ignorant of the place, and disappointed of the troops they expected to meet, to make the landing immediately. Fifteen massoolas accompanied the ships ; they took in 170 of the troops, besides the Macoas, who are the black fellows that row them ; these formed the first division, and were towed to the surf by the yawls and pinnaces of the ships, which, besides their rowers, took as many soldiers as they could carry, who formed the second division : all these steered for the shore, five miles to the north of the fort. The third division of the troops embarked in the long-boats, which were rigged with sails, and proceeded close to the surf, opposite to the fort, and the mouth of a river which leads to it, where they were to appear as if intending to land by pushing over the bar of the river, which was not impracticable.

A small snow and a sloop, which drew little water, and mounted guns, anchored as close as they could opposite to a village half-way between the real landing and the long-boats. As soon as the yawls and pinnaces reached the surf, they dropped their graplings, and cast off the massoolas, which immediately rowed ashore, and landed the troops in them ; then returned, and landed the second division out of the other boats, when a signal was flung out, on which the long-boats came down, sailing fast with the wind and current, and the troops in them were likewise landed all together by the massolas ;

the

1760 the whole without the appearance of any opposition intended by  
 the garrison. As soon as all were on shore, they advanced to the  
 March. village opposite to which the two small vessels were at anchor, and  
 received by catamarans two four-pounders, which belonged to the  
 sloop, and were mounted on ship-carriages; for the reliance on the  
 field-pieces expected with Joseph Smith had prevented any from be-  
 ing embarked at Madras. They passed the night in the village  
 without alarm; and early in the morning moved on to take posses-  
 sion of the pettah of Karieal, which lay on the north side of the  
 fort. It was a spacious town, separated from the fort by an espla-  
 nade of 100 yards; regular works had been traced round the other  
 three sides, which on the west had been raised to four feet above the  
 ground, but the bastion in the north-west angle was completed, and  
 converted into a closed redoubt, which mounted nine guns, and had  
 a good ditch all round, and a draw-bridge; it was called Fort Dauphin: the rest of the north line was open, as was the side to the  
 east. The troops advancing from the north, without a guide or in-  
 telligence, fell under fire of Fort Dauphin, by which two men were  
 killed, and two wounded, before the whole line got under shelter of  
 the buildings in the pettah; which they entered without meeting  
 any interruption in the streets. They took post in the church-yard,  
 which lay about 200 yards from the east side of the pettah, and  
 about the same distance from the line of houses fronting the fort.  
 They found about them plenty of provisions, as well in the houses  
 of the natives, as of the French inhabitants.

The fort of Karieal stands 300 yards from the sea-shore: a river  
 coming from the west strikes when opposite to the west side of the  
 fort in a curve to the south, which continues until opposite to the  
 east side at the distance of 500 yards, when the channel turning  
 again directly to the east, in 100 yards more disembogues into  
 the sea. The fort was an oblong square, completely fortified, but  
 had the greatest of defects, the want of space: for its internal area,  
 exclusive of the four bastions, was no more than 100 yards from W.  
 to E. and only 50 from N. to S. The bastions admitted only three  
 guns

guns in their faces, but each of the four curtains was covered by a 1760 ravelin much more spacious than the bastions, and mounting six. A <sup>March.</sup> wet ditch ran between the three curtains to the N. W. and S. and their ravelins ; but on the east face the ditch surrounded the ravelin likewise, and dry ground occupied the space between the rear of this ravelin and the east curtain, continuing round the two bastions in an excellent faussebray, from the interior angles of which the ravelin projected. A covered way well palisaded, and a complete glacis, surrounded the whole, nevertheless the exterior extent, measuring across from the foot of the glacis, was in the longest direction, that from E. to W. not more than 200 yards ; and the pettah outstretched this face 200 yards on either hand. The garrison had lately destroyed the line of buildings in the pettah, which skirted the esplanade, and had been suffered to rise within 60 yards of the foot of the glacis ; but this demolition added only a space of 40 yards to the esplanade, and that not clear ; for the rubbish not being yet removed still afforded some shelter.

As soon as the English troops had taken possession of the pettah, Mr. Call, with the pioneers, marched, and took possession of a saluting-battery, which lay near the mouth of the river, where was likewise the flag-staff for the road. The fort fired fiercely as they were passing, but did no harm ; and in the night the pioneers began to construct a battery near the river on the esplanade, which was clear quite up to where the river changes from the curve it has made, and strikes straight to the sea : they were not interrupted in their work ; neither did the troops in the pettah receive any alarm from the garrison. The next evening a ten-inch mortar was landed, and at ten at night began to bombard Fort Dauphin. The range was exactly gained at the first shell, and only thirteen were fired before the guard, consisting of 50 men, abandoned it ; and, knowing ways of which the English troops were not apprized, gained the fort without interruption. About the same time twelve gunners sent from Pondicherry, who had landed at Tranquebar, got into the fort, notwithstanding a company of marines were looking out for them, who kept too far from the sea-shore, whilst the gunners travelled

1760 <sup>March.</sup> velled along the beach until they came to the river, when they continued under the bank unperceived by the pioneers employed in constructing the battery.

The cover afforded by the pettah determined the attack to be carried on against the north face of the fort; and the greater extent of the esplanade to the east, which is 500 yards (whereas to the west it is interrupted by the curve of the river at 300) gave the preference of the enfilade from the east, which of consequence determined the breach to be in the north-east bastion, and on its north face. Accordingly, three batteries were marked out in the pettah, one to breach, and one on each hand to take off the defences; in the battery to the east, two of the guns enfiladed the north line in its whole length, and the other two plunged into the opposite ravelin, and across into the ravelin on the south: so that every part of the fort would be laid under fire. Sailors were landed with the heavy artillery from the ships, and assisted in drawing them, and in the other services usually allotted to bullocks and coolies; for all the neighbouring villages were deserted, and supplied neither man nor beast; and no tidings arrived of the Captain Joseph Smith's detachment, nor of the assistance expected from the garrison of Trichinopoly; and the king of Tanjore avoided all correspondence with the armament.

Captain Joseph Smith received the orders of the presidency on the 25th, the day he was setting out with the Nabob from Volcondah, against Thiagar; he immediately turned his march to Karical; and the Nabob, unwilling to remain with only his own troops in the middle of the Carnatic, determined to march with the detachment. The nearest road leading from Volcondah towards Karical falls upon the Coleroon, 30 miles N. N. W. of the city of Tanjore. Having crossed the river, which is there spacious, you continue to Combacum, which stands five miles farther, on the bank of the first arm of the Caveri; and beyond this is another arm to cross, before you join the road leading "east to the sea-shore": much of the ground between the rivers is sunk in marshes, and the better ground is overflowed in rice-fields, without any continued road, which greatly retarded

tard the passage of carriages ; and the way between Volcondah and Karical being 120 miles, the march can scarcely be performed in <sup>1760</sup> less than ten days ; but Captain Smith had received his orders to advance only four days before the armament anchored at Karical, whose ignorance of the impossibility of his apperance aggravated their anxiety concerning the arrival of the French squadron, which intelligence, artfully inculcated from Pondicherry, led them to expect from day to day when all the marines and sailors must have been reimbarked, and Major Monson would have been left with only 60 Europeans, and without a field-piece.

However, these apprehensions only encreased their activity in pushing the attack. The ten-inch mortar, which had been employed against Fort Dauphin, was removed on the 31st, and threw shells all night. The garrison returned round and grape from their cannon, and even used their musketry, although all they fired at was under cover, or out of reach : this early profusion of ammunition is rarely followed by vigorous defence at extremity. In the morning of the 1st of April the two embrasures on the right of the enfilading battery to the east were opened. The passage into the covered way lay opposite to this battery, leading through the glacis on the left face of its angle projecting to the east, and the garrison had laid a row of wood and palmiras in front of the barrier gate, which closed this passage at the foot of the glacis, in order to construct a battery there with these materials. The ten-inch mortar sometimes threw carcasses of fire-balls to set them afire, but without effect ; and two royals, of which the shells are 5 inches and 5 twelfths diameter, continually bombarded the fort. In the morning of the 2d, the other two embrasures were opened in the enfilading battery. At ten o'clock, arrived Captain Richard Smith from Tritchinopoly with Lascars, oxen, coolies, and stores ; and the Nabob came up likewise with 1000 horse and six companies of Sepoys, whom Captain Joseph Smith had sent forward, as the rains and the badness of the roads retarded the carriages and baggage of his detachment, with which he remained to bring them on. This reinforcement afforded troops sufficient to

1760 invest the fort all round. In this day the enemy's fire was excessive, and dismounted one of the guns at the enfilading battery, and endamaged all its embrasures ; but all were restored during the night, and the same number of guns began to fire again the next morning, which was the 3d of the month. At eight o'clock of this day, Captain Joseph Smith came up with the rest of his detachment, which were 130 European musketry, thirty artillery-men, two field-pieces, and five companies of Sepoys. The enemy during the night finished two embrasures in one face of their battery at the barrier, which pointed against the enfilading battery ; and traces appeared of another face to the north, which seemed intended to scour the opposite street of the pettah, across which the attack had thrown up a slight retrenchment.

Early the next morning, the breaching battery in the centre street opened with three twenty-four pounders against the N. face of the N. E. bastion, at the distance of 150 yards, and was so well served by Captain Barker, who attended it, that in three rounds the enemy quitted the three guns in the face attacked, and in less than an hour all the merlons were beat down ; the other face had before been much shattered by the enfilading battery, which had likewise nearly ruined the north face of the east ravelin : so that neither of the batteries had occasion to fire more than a shot now and then through the rest of the day. Sepoys were posted in the rains of the houses, who kept up a constant fire through the night on the bastion and ravelin, to prevent the enemy from placing sand-bags to repair them. By the next morning, which was the 5th of the month, and the 10th since the landing, a battery, intended to destroy the east face of the north ravelin, was almost completed, and the other against the N. W. bastion quite finished ; but the guns for neither were yet landed from the ships. Intelligence was received, that a detachment of 450 infantry and 150 European horse, were arrived at Chillambarum from Pondicherry, intending to advance and interrupt the siege. The breach, though broad, could not be mounted without clambering, and the immediate access to it was still defended by the ditch, to which the besiegers had not yet approached,

and by the parapet of the fausse-bray, which remained undamaged : 1760 but the gate of the barrier leading through the glacis to the east ravelin, had been beaten down by ricochet shot flying over the battery, which the enemy had raised before it. The bascul, or carpentry, which raised and let down the draw-bridge before the N. E. face of the east ravelin, had likewise been shot away, and the bridge fallen into its place, and the garrison had not yet destroyed it to interrupt the passage, which thus remained clear to the ravelin. The gateway leading through the curtain into the fort was at the back of this ravelin : and the same fire had destroyed the gates which closed it, nor had any thing been substituted to stop the passage ; so that, if the storm had been immediately and desperately attempted this way, the enemy had nothing to oppose it, but the arms in their hands. All these circumstances Major Monson did not know ; but the commandant of the fort feared, and answered the summons by requesting to march away with the honours of war : to which Monson replied, that the whole garrison must become prisoners of war ; but that the inhabitants should be left in possession of their houses in the pettah, the officers have their baggage, and the Sepoys might go where they pleased. The terms were accepted ; and the English troops marched in at two in the afternoon. The garrison consisted of 115 Europeans, of whom 101 were military, 72 Topasses, and 250 Sepoys. Besides smaller arms and stores, there were in the place 155 pieces of cannon of all sorts, and nine mortars, with a large stock of ammunition for both. Only five men were killed in the defence, and in the attack only three Europeans, one of whom was a sailor, and five wounded. Never perhaps was so great an armament prepared, to succeed with so little loss, excepting when Delabourdonnais took Madrass in 1746.

Nevertheless, the capture was well worth the exertion : as besides the advantages of its situation with respect to the sea, it afforded the French a constant and certain inlet to the territories of Tanjore, and by various purchases and cessions from the government they had acquired districts round the fort, containing 113 villages, of which the farms, with the customs of the port and town, never

1760 produced less than 30,000 pagodas a year, sufficient for the expence of the garrison. As the fort was too small, all the European inhabitants had their houses in the pettah, which were well built, as were many of those belonging to the natives, and room was left and marked for more to both. The Nabob derived no advantage by this success, beyond the detriment it occasioned to his enemies ; for a member of the council of Madrass had been sent in the squadron, to negotiate with Tanjore for the redemption of the districts.

The absence of Colonel Coote and Major Monson had left the main army to the command of Major Robert Gordon, who moved with it from Alamparvah on the 28th of March, and on the 1st of April encamped at Killenore, from whence he sent forward a detachment of observation, to take post at Manoor, within five miles of Valdore. The sweep of country to the westward of Killenore as far as Villaporum, which lies 20 miles due west of Pondicherry, abounds in cattle, and is as fertile as any part of the Carnatic, and remained at this time, as the French territory became every day more circumscribed, their last resource for provisions. All the countries, which had been reduced to the south of Chittapett and Vandivash as far as Permacoil, had been let by the Presidency of Madrass to a Malabar, named Ramalinga, who accompanied the army ready to rent more, and kept several companies of irregular Sepoys with him, to place as guards in new districts, as reduced. By his advice, Major Gordon resolved to send a detachment against Villaporum. The distance was 35 miles, and the way lay between the garrison of Gingee on one hand, and of Valdore on the other. The detachment consisted of 200 black horse, and five companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Wood, and the renter accompanied with his people. They marched from Killenore on the 3d of April, a little after sun-set, and passing through Vicravandi, Captain Wood, with the horse, arrived before Villaporum at ten the next morning, but the Sepoys did not come up until two in the afternoon. The best intelligence that could be obtained, reported, that there were 300 Sepoys and 400 horse in the place ; and at six, as soon as the Sepoys were refreshed, Wood led them to the attack, which could only

only be made by scrambling up the wall, as they had no ladders. 1760 Eight or ten got up to the parapet, but three or four mounting at the same time were killed, which deterred those who were next from following, and flung the whole into confusion, on which the enemy sallied, but the horse rode in between, and drove them back. The Sepoys rallied again in the pettah, and were preparing ladders to escalade before day-break; but at eight o'clock at night the garrison abandoned the fort. Captain Wood placed three of the regular companies of Sepoys, and 200 of the renters, to garrison it, under the command of an Ensign; and at ten at night set out on his return with the cavalry and the other company of Sepoys. They arrived at one in the morning at Vicrivandi, where he left this company, and, proceeding, rejoined the camp a little after sun-rise with the cavalry, which accomplished this march of 60 miles in 36 hours.

April.

Since the retreat of the French army, their countries to the westward of Villaporum and Gingee, and the forts intended to protect them, had, like this, been left to the defence of such troops as the renters chose to levy and maintain; and in the end of March, Captain Airey, who commanded in Chittapett, and from thence over Trinomaly, sent a detachment of Sepoys to enable the garrison there to take the field, which in a few days drove the guards out of Soolabgur, Tricalour, and Trivaneloor: these three forts had been taken possession of by Mahomed Issoof and Kistnarow of Thiagar, whilst they were ravaging the countries adjacent to them during the siege of Madrass. Soolabgur is situated on a hill 15 miles s. s. w. and Tricolour on the plain 20 miles s. of Trinomaly: Trivelanoor stands 10 miles s. e. of Tricaloor, and 20 s. w. of Villaporum. The French garrison of Gingee on the one side, and of Thiagar on the other, were the nearest to protect these lesser forts; but both were too much alarmed for their own safety, to risk any detachments abroad: the one by the Nabob's camp then at Volcondah, the other by the English army, at Killenore. Kistnarow, after the loss of Thiagar in the preceding month of June, had remained with the Nabob at Tritchinopoly, and, after the victory of Vandivash, obtained his permission to act as a free-booter in the French districts, and, having

1760 having plunder to offer, easily enlisted a number of horse, with  
 which he accompanied the Nabob to Volcondah, and from thence  
 trooped away to the country about Chilambarum, where they were  
 carrying on all kind of ravage, at the time that Captain Wood  
 marched and took Villaparum.

April.

Colonel Coote recovered of his wound, rejoined the army at Kille-nore on the 7th; and the next day, after reconnoitring Valdore, sent off 350 of the black horse, to join Kistnarow in the country about Chilambarum; so that the chain of troops, or posts, was now established, which encircled Pondicherry in a sweep of 70 miles, from that place to Allamparvah. On the 10th, a large number of Sepoys were seen marching into Valdore from the Gingee road: they were what remained of the body commanded by Zulphacarjung, who, when driven out of the pettah of Arcot by Captain Wood, continued, until this fort was taken, at the back of Velore, encouraged for fear of accidents by Mortizally. From Velore he marched to Gingee; and Mr. Lally, yielding to the representation of Mr. Deleyrit, and the general discouragement, repressed his prejudices against these troops, and recalled them to act again with the European force. Zulphacarjung left a part of his Sepoys to reinforce Valdore, and marched on with the rest into Pondicherry.

The next day Colonel Coote advanced the army to Manoor, and sent forward Major Robert Gordon, with a large detachment, to take possession of the pettah under the fort of Valdore; the day after, which was the 12th, he brought up the rest of the army, and encamped at Cartaricopum, a village about a mile to the east, nearer Pondicherry. In the night, two batteries were commenced, and shells thrown, which the garrison answered by shot, and both were employed without mischief. The next day all the cavalry, not on duty, were detached, under the command of a Lieutenant, to reconnoitre: and proceeded to the hither end of the Red-hill. The French cavalry with some platoons of infantry advanced towards them, and made some evolutions as intending to fall on their flanks, which the English cavalry prevented by contrary motions, and returned

turned to camp. They had perceived at a distance a large cloud of 1760 dust, as of troops with cannon, advancing from Pondicherry.

April.

The fort of Valdore stands nine miles N. N. W. of Pondicherry. Its form is an exact parallelogram, squaring with the compass; and extending 300 yards from E. to W. and 210 from N. to S. It is situated in a plain, and its original fortifications, like the generality of the forts in the country, were a rampart with towers, a fausse-bray, and a ditch. Mr. Dupleix, had raised a glacis on the north-side, and had converted the center tower on this side, and that in the S. W. angle, into bastions with faces and flanks; but the pettah, which is to the west, remained within 150 yards of the wall: so that the vicinity of Pondicherry was its best defence. In the morning of the 14th, one of the batteries opened; it fronted and battered the tower in the north-west angle with one gun, and with the other took off the defences of the next tower in the west wall.

The dust seen the day before was from a body of troops marching to encamp under Villenore. The intelligence of the present day said they were the whole army, and that Mr. Lally intended to attack the English camp by surprize in the ensuing night, which determined Colonel Coote to reconnoitre them himself when the sun abated in the afternoon. All the cavalry in two divisions, each accompanied by five companies of Sepoys, marched with him. When arrived at the Red-hill, opposite to Villenore, he proceeded along the foot of it with one of the divisions, and sent the other across the plain, to examine the enemy's out-posts on that side, whilst his own division came opposite to a body of Europeans, with two field-pieces drawn up in the high road nearest the hill, leading to the bound-hedge. They cannonaded, but at too great a distance; and Colonel Coote continued under the side of the hill until dark, in order to persuade the enemy that he intended to patrole the field all night; but returned soon after to the camp. Five or six Sepoys and a horse were killed in this service. In the siege, one of the guns in the battery was ruined by the fire of the fort. Shells continued through the night, and the next morning, which was the 15th, the other

1760 other battery was completed and opened. It faced the tower in the  
S. W. angle, and the fire from both continued through the day as  
hot as it could be safely kept up. The whole of the French troops  
had assembled at Villenore during the night, and pushed on ad-  
vanced posts, which, in the morning, began to skirmish with those  
of the camp; where all, excepting the men at the batteries, were  
kept in readiness to turn out the line, but the enemy's main body  
did not advance. Intelligence was repeated of their intentions to  
attack the camp this night, as the night before: on which Colonel  
Coote struck the tents at sunset, as if he meant to change his ground,  
but pitched them again in the same place after dark; but half the  
troops lay on their arms until day-light. The howitz continued  
through the night; and in the morning the batteries which had been  
much impaired renewed their fire. The skirmishes likewise recom-  
menced between the outguards of both armies. At two in the  
afternoon, both breaches appeared practicable; and a deserter from  
the fort reported, that the garrison had nearly expended their am-  
munition, and were inclined, if not immediately relieved, to sur-  
render; on which Colonel Coote ordered Major Gordon, who com-  
manded the attack, to summons the commandant at four o'clock, at  
which hour he should proceed himself with the main body from the  
camp, and offer battle to the enemy's; which if they refused,  
and the garrison to surrender, Major Gordon was to storm the  
breaches, and Colonel Coote would send assistance; but, if the  
enemy's army came to an engagement, Gordon was to march from  
the batteries with his division, and form the third line in the order  
of battle. Accordingly the main body advanced a mile and a half  
from the camp, and halted in sight of the enemy, who only sent  
forward their European cavalry and some Sepoys, which were met by  
parties of the English cavalry, European and black, supported likewise  
by Sepoys, and some were wounded on both sides by fire-arms, but no  
charges made hand to hand. At six o'clock, Colonel Coote received  
word, that the garrison of Valdore had consented to surrender without  
terms the next morning, and had given up the outer gate, on which  
he

he returned with the line to the camp. The garrison consisted of a 1760 captain, a lieutenant, 80 other Europeans, and 280 Sepoys : they had lost only two men killed, and three wounded ; and the English not more. There were in the fort 25 pieces of cannon, and some paddy. Colonel Coote, as soon as he had taken possession, detached 200 of the black horse, with 300 Sepoys, under the command of Assaf beg, to take Trivadi, in which were some Sepoys that protected the district, and gathered the produce for the French government.

Of the French prisoners which had been taken in the late successes, the Presidency of Madrass had inlisted 60 of those confined there, and sent them to the camp. These men, as soon as they came before Valdore, so near their own army and their capital, deserted daily, and 40 of them were gone before the place was reduced ; some of the company of French Volunteers likewise went off, although they had hitherto behaved with as much spirit as if fighting under, instead of against, their own colours. But as soon as Valdore fell, new deserters began to come over from the enemy, three, four, and five in a day : nevertheless all that remained of those sent from Madrass were returned thither to be confined again, for the perfidy of their comrades.

On the 19th, Colonel Coote went out again in the afternoon, with the cavalry, and six companies of Sepoys, to reconnoitre on the Red-hill ; the French cavalry, supported likewise by some Sepoys, came out, and advanced along the nearest avenue, but only the Sepoys on either side engaged, and that with distant firing, until four field-pieces came up from Villenore, on which Colonel Coote returned to the camp. Two of his black horsemen were killed, and the horse of a trooper, with five Sepoys, wounded.

During these operations of the main army, Colonel Monson was advancing with his division from Karical. The French prisoners taken there were sent to Tritchinopoly, under the escort of two companies of Sepoys, and of 60 of the Europeans, who had been drawn from that garrison on this service ; two other of these companies, and two lent by the Nabob, with 12 Europeans, were left

1760 in Karical. Captain Joseph Smith, with the rest of his command from Tritchinopoly, of which 30 were artillery-men, remained, as did half the marines from the squadron ; the other half, with all the battering artillery, were re-embarked. The Nabob with his troops, likewise accompanied Major Monson. They moved on the 10th of April, and continued by the road along the sea-shore, until they came to the mouths of the Coleroon near Devicotah, when they struck to the west, and passed the river in its single channel opposite to the pagoda of Chilambarum. At the passage, they were joined by Kistnarow, with his party of horse, who a few days before had intercepted two companies of Sepoys, escorting three tumbrils of ammunition to Chilambarum, which he took, having killed and dispersed all the Sepoys, and gathered up their arms. Major Monson summoned this place on the 19th ; and on refusal, two eighteen-pounders were disembarked from the squadron, which was at anchor off the bar of Devicotah. There were brought on catamarans up the Coleroon, and joined the camp the next day. The slender walls of the pagoda would not have resisted a single shot, and, although the French had projected redoubts at the four angles, and one in the middle of the north, and another of the south wall ; these works had only been carried up a little way in earth, and could only serve for cannon fired in barbette : scaffoldings had been erected for musketry, and there was a gun in each of the towers at the angles. In the twilight of the evening, the garrison perceived the artillery-men of the camp bringing fascines to the spot where the battery was intended, and mistook the fascines for scaling-ladders ; on which the officers held a consultation, which did not resolve until midnight ; when the camp, to their great surprize, saw a number of torches held out together upon the wall, and discovered amongst them a white flag, which the torches were illuminating. The signal of surrender was accepted ; some troops advanced to the gate, and were admitted on the promise of good treatment to the garrison ; which consisted of eight officers, and 40 other Europeans. The next day, the marines were sent to Devicotah, to be re-embarked on the squadron ; and Kistnarow, with his horse, was detached to destroy

April.

destroy the French districts about Cuddalore. This way lay the 1760 nearest road to Valdore ; but Major Monson, imagining that Mr. <sup>April.</sup> Lally might post a force at Cuddalore to interrupt the march of his own, which was not strong in Europeans, if they should take this route ; and, being unwilling to expose the person of the Nabob to any danger, resolved to turn inland, and attack Verdachelum ; from whence he might proceed to Valdore, keeping the main body of the army between his own division and Pondicherry.

The enemy kept only Sepoys in their station at Trivadi, who abandoned it on the approach of Assaf-beg's detachment, although they came without cannon. Encouraged by this easy success, Assaf-beg proceeded towards Cuddalore, where the same panic had prevailed, and no troops remained to oppose his entrance ; but the town was not entirely deserted by the inhabitants. This station was of much utility, as the road was in sight, and at this season to windward of Pondicherry : two companies of Sepoys were posted in the town ; the houses of the factory were prepared to serve as an hospital to the squadron ; bullocks were sent off to supply the ships with fresh provisions ; and the few boatmen remaining in the town received encouragement to collect more of their own craft from different parts of the coast. On the 25th Rear-admiral Cornish anchored in the road, with the six men of war from Karical, and on the 29th was joined by Admiral Stevens, with four more from Bombay : they were part of the nine, which composed Mr. Pococke's squadron in the preceding year, two of which were arrived before with Mr. Cornish. Of the three others, the Salisbury was not completely repaired, and the Cumberland had not entered the dock when Mr. Stevens sailed ; the Yarmouth remained, in consequence of orders from the admiralty, to convey Mr. Pococke to England, from whence he had been absent five years. All the presidencies followed him with the most grateful acknowledgements of the eminent services he had rendered the nation during his continuance and command in the seas of India, which he completed, by escorting safely from St. Helena, in the heat of the war, 13 sail of the company's ships returning from their settlements, which arrived in

1760 ~~April.~~ England in the October following, and were the richest fleet that had ever entered the Thames at one time.

The two armies had continued in their respective encampments, their advanced guards in full sight, and continually alarming one another ; and on the 27th at day-break, the French cavalry, with 50 of their infantry, attacked a post of Sepoys and black horse, killed six or seven of each, and wounded more ; and lost themselves two hussars killed, and their officer, with several wounded.

Nothing of consequence passed for several days after, and in the night between the first and second of May, the whole French army decamped from Perimbé, and retreated close to the bound-hedge, leaving only an advanced post with two guns about half a mile in front of the main body. Colonel Coote went in the afternoon, with his usual escorte of horse and Sepoys, to reconnoitre their position, and, advancing too near, several of his Sepoys were killed by the fire of the cannon from the advanced post.

Major Monson with his division, and the Nabob with his troops, arrived before Verdachelum on the 26th. This place stands 60 miles N. N. w. of Chillambrum, and 60 s. w. from Valdore. It is extensive, and was originally a pagoda, and although converted into a fort by the addition of towers at the angles, and projected masses of masonry in each of the sides as gateways, still continued of very feeble defence against cannon. It seemed therefore only to acquit his military honour, that the commanding officer refused to surrender on the first summons ; for the next day, on the appearance of the two eighteen-pounders in battery, he of his own accord threw out the white flag, and surrendered at discretion. His garrison were, besides himself and another officer, 13 Europeans, and 150 Sepoys. This place as well as Chillambrum was delivered over to the Nabob, who gave them in charge of his own Sepoys, and put both garrisons under the command of Kistnargw. He was here joined by his brother, Maphuze Khan, who when least expected, had left the Pilitaver in the beginning of January, and joined Mahomed Issoof at Tinivelly ; from whence he was sent, with an escorte, to Puducotah, the principal town of the polygar Tondiman where

where he remained, still full of suspicions of the evil intentions of the Nabob, until encouraged to trust him by repeated assurances from the Presidency, that no harm should befall him. He arrived with very few attendants, and had not money to entertain more. From Verdachelum, the troops continued their route by Villaporum and Vicravandi, and arrived at Valdore on the 3d of May. The Nabob remained in the camp until the 10th, much delighted with the army and commanders, who had restored him to so great a part of his dominions. He then proceeded to Madrass, in order to regulate with the Presidency the modes of administration in the countries which had been recovered.

The French, when they abandoned Cuddalore, demolished the parapets of the bastions, took down the three gates, and made several breaches in the rampart, and the whole face of the town fronting the sea never had a wall. Several informations had been lately received, that Mr. Lally intended to retake Cuddalore, of which Colonel Coote advised the officers there, and warned them to keep special guard. On the 10th at night, 100 Europeans with 60 hussars and three companies of Sepoys, entered the town, surprized and dispersed the Sepoys, and advanced to the hospital, where they took five surgeons, six petty officers, and 58 sailors and marines belonging to the squadron, mostly sick, whom they carried away, and left none of their own men to maintain the place. The next day, a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys, with 20 of the European horse, and a field-piece, under the command of Lieutenant Fitzgerald, were sent into the town from the camp, and 60 marines were landed from the squadron. At four in the ensuing morning, whilst it was yet dark, a stronger party than the night before entered the town again, and took the field-piece; but, finding more resistance than they expected, retreated over the rivers towards Fort St. David, of which the fortifications had been so completely demolished, that a single redoubt was not left to give post to a company of infantry. Lieutenant Fitzgerald, with the hussars and some Sepoys, for all would not move, and none of the marines, followed, and hung in their rear, until they had recrossed the Panar beyond

1760 beyond Fort St. David; where the enemy abandoned the field-piece they had taken. It was said, that the commander was killed, ~~May.~~ three other officers wounded, and 32 of the common soldiers killed and wounded. Of the English troops a Jemidar with 20 Sepoys were wounded, and a Subadhar was killed. From this earnestness, other attempts were expected, and diligence was used to render the place more desensible, and the Sepoys were augmented to 700. On the 20th, information was received, that the enemy intended another attack, with a much greater force than the last; on which, Colonel Coote detached an officer, with 30 Europeans, and 300 black horse, to interrupt their parties, or succour the place. The officer went with the Europeans into the town, and stationed the horse at a distance without; between one and two in the morning, the expected attack was made by 700 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 150 of the French horse, which were half this body: and they had four field-pieces. They divided into five different assaults; all entered the town, but were stopped at the traverses which had been thrown up in the streets leading to the hospital, which resisted the direct fire of their field-pieces, and commanded their musketry. They however persisted, until two of their officers were killed, and 60 private men killed and wounded. The English officer followed them, with the black horse and some Sepoys, to the Panar: but their cavalry and field-pieces keeping in order in the rear, deterred any effectual attempt to interrupt their retreat.

On the 23d, the Salisbury joined the squadron from Bombay, and brought from thence to the assistance of the army three companies of the royal artillery, which the King had sent for the defence of that island; and the government there, very judiciously to the coast, where they were more immediately wanted. They were 178 men, exclusive of officers, all sound, and joined the army a few days after from Cuddalore, where they landed. After the retreat of the French troops to the bound-hedge, the two camps were at too great a distance to afford such continual occasions of skirmish as before.

The successes of the English army, had not a little conduced to 1760  
encrease the dissensions which had long rent the government of Pondicherry, where calamity, instead of reconciling, only exasperated the animosities of those who were sharing the same distresses. The loss of Permacoil was imputed to the retreat of the army, which was on march to relieve it; but they were only faulty in not having advanced with more expedition; and in either case Mr. Lally, not being present, was exempt from blame: which nevertheless was urged, because the officer who commanded in his absence was of his own regiment, and supposed to be much in his favour. The fall of Alamparvah was ascribed to the loss of Permacoil, and Valdore to malignant treachery, that Pondicherry might be deprived of the last post which remained to protect any convoys which might attempt to get into the town. Mr. Lally was informed of what every one thought and said concerning himself; and retaliated with sarcasms on their soreness for the loss of their own peculations out of the districts which he had been obliged to abandon. In this state of virulence were minds, when the squadron with Mr. Cornish was working up the coast to Karical. There were in the town of Pondicherry, 600 Europeans, invalids, fit only for garrison duty: and the inhabitants were 500 more Europeans. These, added to the regular troops, would contribute to make a formidable display, which Mr. Lally intended to exhibit on the strand to the view of the squadron, as they were passing through the road: orders were given in consequence. The covenanted servants of the French company were to be a part of the parade; but a little before, at the hour appointed, they came into the court of the government-house, and sent up word to Mr. Lally, that they would not march unless led by the Governor and Council, whom Mr. Lally had exempted from this duty. Mr. Deleyrit, the governor, immediately offered to put himself at their head; but the counsellors coming in, said, that none of the Company's servants were obliged to bear arms out of the walls of the town. On this declaration, Mr. Lally arrested the two spokesmen of the Council, and two of the forwardest of the repugnants, disarmed and dismissed the rest, and went on with the review without

May.

1760 without them. The offence and punishment left no bounds to the mutual aversion between him and the company's servants. Whilst the English army were attacking Valdore, two ships arrived from the islands : they brought neither troops nor money, but unfavourable advices, which were with much caution suppressed, and published as good news with salute of cannon, fireworks, and rejoicings, "That "Mr. D'Aché's squadron, reinforced from France to 25 sail of the "line, might be soon expected on the coast, with a large body of "land forces on board." After the fall of Valdore, a few enclosures under the guns at Villanore and Ariancopang, with the ground within the bound-hedge, and the town of Pondicherry itself, contained all the live provisions, on which the colony was to rely for their future sustenance, and all further means were precluded of bringing in grain or other articles of store from the country without ; for although Gingee and Thiagar remained in the hands of the French, their situation was distant, and their garrisons not strong enough to furnish sufficient escorts, and no parties equal to the same purpose could be detached from the main body, without incurring the risque of interception. When the farm of the districts adjacent to Pondicherry was taken from the European renters, and let to the Malabar, after the defeat at Vandivash, there was a sufficient quantity of grain on the ground in reach of Pondicherry, to have stocked the place, as some say, for years ; but money was then more scarce than victuals, and the new farmer was permitted to sell his grain, that he might be enabled to pay his rent in coin into the treasury, instead of delivering grain, as acquittal, into the magazines. As soon as Permacoil and Alamparvah fell, and the English army advanced between Gingee and Pondicherry, Mr. Lally saw this error, and that it was not retrievable, but by means which he had hitherto, with too much presumption, despised.

Hyder Ally, the general of the Mysoreans, had at this time acquired the whole power of the government. He had lately taken the King out of the hands of his uncle, the Dalaway, whom we have seen commanding the Mysore troops before Tritchinopoly. The

The Dalaway had agreed to retire to the fort of Mysore with a jaghire allowed for his maintenance and security, and Hyder Ally was left without controul ; for the King was young, weak, and timid. Not unmindful, however, of a reverse of fortune, Hyder Ally cast about to get some place of refuge immediately for his treasures, and contingently for his own person ; and judiciously preferred Thiagar in the Carnatic, as well for the difficulty of access to it from Mysore, as the inexpugnable nature of its fortifications. A Portuguese monk, named Norognha, who assumed, and perhaps had obtained, the title of Bishop of Halicarnassus, had, by residence under the pretext of religious mission, acquired much knowledge of the adjacent countries, as well as of the Carnatic itself, and Mr. Lally, immediately on his arrival at Pondicherry, gave him his confidence, and employed him in all his transactions with the chiefs of the country. The bishop performed his commissions with zeal ; for he was greedy of money, and it is a common custom in India to give some to the negotiator of a treaty. It was he who bargained for the Morattoes who joined the French army at Arcot ; after which he continued in Velore, watching over opportunities, and either suggested to Hyder Ally, or discovered his inclinations, to obtain Thiagar. Mr. Lally seeing no other means of procuring relief to the necessities which began to threaten Pondicherry, repressed the contempt with which he had hitherto regarded the military faculties of the princes in India, and sent two of his officers to conclude the treaty with Hyder Ally. It was agreed, " that Hyder should immediately send a body of 2000 horse, and 3000 Sepoys, with artillery, who, on their arrival at Thiagar, were to be put in possession of that fort, and of Elvanasore, with the dependencies of both, which were to remain the property of the Mysoreans in perpetuity as long as the flag of France existed in India. This army was to be paid at the rate of 100,000 rupees a month, from the day of their arrival at Thiagar. Ten eighteen-pounders were to be given as a present to Hyder, exclusive of the artillery in the two forts, which, as well as all the military stores, was to be delivered with them. His troops were to be furnished

1760 " with ammunition, whilst serving for the French ; who, after the  
 —— " Carnatic should be cleared, were to assist him in conquering the  
 May. " southern countries of Madura and Tinivelly. Besides the number  
 " already stipulated, Hyder Ally engaged to supply 1000 horse and  
 " 2000 Sepoys more : in consideration of which, half the countries  
 " which should be recovered in the Carnatic, were to be assigned to  
 " his government, excepting the French company's domains of  
 " Villenore, Valdore, Bahoor, and Alamparvah : the territory of  
 " Vellore, as belonging to Mortizally, their ally, and the districts de-  
 " pendant on Trinomalee, having been granted in appanage to Ra-  
 " jahsaheb, the son of Chundasaheb, were likewise exempted ; and  
 " whatsoever portion of the Carnatic should fall to the Mysoreans,  
 " was to be delivered back to the French, in proportion to the pro-  
 " gress of the acquisitions in the southern countries."

The negotiation was conducted with so much secrecy, that no surmises of it were obtained by the English until the 24th of May, just as their late successes seemed to have left nothing on the land, which could interrupt the prosecution of their intention to blockade Pondicherry ; for which, preparations were making at Madrass, when Colonel Coote received intelligence of this unexpected alliance by a letter from one of his correspondents in Pondicherry, signifying, that Mr. Lally was preparing a considerable detachment, to march and join Hyder Ally at Thiagar. Hyder it was known was not there, nor was there any probability that his other interest would permit him to leave Seringapatam : nor were any dispositions observed in the enemy's encampment, which signified such a detachment as was said to be going. On the 30th, Colonel Coote went out to reconnoitre them himself, accompanied as usual by the black horse and Sepoys. The enemy cannonaded hotly, and killed some of the horsemen ; but Assaf beg, with two or three squadrons, broke in upon their Sepoys, and killed 14 of them. Nothing appeared for several days after to confirm the intelligence ; and Colonel Coote began to regard it as a rumour thrown out by Mr. Lally himself, to conceal some other design, when, on the 7th of June, he received a confirmation of it from Kist-

Kistnarow, who had been ordered to look out, and had advanced 1760 with his party to Volcondah.

The first division of the Mysore troops, consisting of 1000 horse, and 2000 Sepoys, arrived at Thiagar on the 4th of June, and the next day some of their parties, roaming to collect cattle, skirmished with Kistnarow's near the pettah of Volcondah. The rest of the division still remaining at Thiagar were 30 miles nearer Pondicherry ; and Kistnarow believing the exaggerated accounts of their numbers, and being in want of ammunition, hurried back to protect the districts of Verdachelum, which had been entrusted, not without profit, to his care ; from hence he sent his report and his fears to Colonel Coote, with earnest request of reinforcements ; and then, he said, he would march, and beat the Mysoreans.

June.

A month before the rumours of these troops, the forces which the Mysore government maintained in Dindigul had commenced hostilities against the adjacent Polygars depending on Tritchinopoly ; and it was reported that they intended to get possession of the pass of Nattam, which would preclude the immediate communication between Tritchinopoly and Madura. But as the Mysoreans in these quarters had several times before attacked the possessions of the Nabob, their present hostilities had not led to any suspicions of the greater effort which Hyder Ally was preparing against the Carnatic ; nor were they deemed of danger to require immediate resistance from this province : but Mahomed Issoof sent a detachment from Tinivelly to Madura, from whence they were to take the field and enter the districts of Dindigul ; and the troops maintained by the Nabob for the protection of the districts of Tritchinopoly, assembled at the pass of Nattam, under the command of Hussain Cawn, who had served with the French at Terriore and Seringham until they retreated out of these countries, when he offered his service to the Nabob, and was accepted.

The heats of the season, since the land-winds had set in in April, had this year been much more intense than usual ; and had struck sickness through the camp. Sixty Europeans had died, and 300 were in the hospital, and to preserve the rest from the sun, the day duty of the line was done by the Sepoys. From the same attention

1760 fifty of the late deserters had been incorporated, and called the French Company, under the command of two French officers, brothers, of the name of Martin : like the French volunteers, they were intended for the services of most fatigue and danger, and were now employed, for the first time. They marched on the 10th, accompanied by 25 Coffrees, two companies of Sepoys, 1000 black horse, and an iron gun with five European gunners, to join Kistnarow at Villaporum ; as it was supposed the Mysoreans would attempt to pass either by this place or Trivadi.

Although no regular detachments had marched from Pondicherry, small parties to the amount of 200 Europeans had passed at different times undiscovered to Gingee, and from thence proceeded to Thiagar, before the first division of Mysoreans arrived there ; but remained in order to accompany the main body to Pondicherry. Preparing for this important convoy and reinforcement, the garrisons both of Thiagar and Gingee had collected all the cattle, which the inhabitants had not driven out of their reach : but the Mysore horse in three days swept a much greater number ; but refused to proceed with them, until fully apprized what interruption they were likely to meet in the way ; and the French officers were afraid to tell them that they only ran the risque of more by this delay.

The Martins arrived at Villaporum on the 11th, and heard nothing of Kistnarow ; and the commandant of Gingee, thinking he could cope with their detachment, marched from his forts with 100 Europeans, some Sepoys, and black horse. The Martins, as well as the deserters they commanded, behaved with much spirit in their new cause, and repulsed their countrymen, who acted but faintly. Some of the French Sepoys were killed, and two Europeans, a To-paze, and a Coffeee, were made prisoners.

Notwithstanding this success and repeated injunctions Kistnarow still kept aloof ; and, as it was supposed that the Mysoreans already arrived were the whole body, and would advance, accompanied by the Europeans from Thiagar, to which force that with the Martins, although strong, would in no wise have been equal, another detach-

detachment still stronger was sent from the camp: both when joined would amount to 190 European infantry, 30 European horse, 25 Coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1600 black horse; and were to be commanded by Major More, the same who marched in January to Tripetty, and had lately been promoted from the rank of captain.

1760  
June.

More Mysoreans arriving, they called in their parties, and being joined by 40 or 50 of the French troops from Thiagar, appeared before Tricalore on the 10th; but, the Frenchmen having brought only two or three small field-pieces, and the fort being of stone, the Sepoys within, who were three good companies left there by Captain Airey, refused to surrender; and by the fire of their musketry from the walls obliged the enemy to retire; who then went against Trichimungalum, a fort five miles to the east, where the garrison, which was likewise of Sepoys, took fright, and evacuated it on their approach. From this place all the Mysore cavalry, now 1500, set off for Pondicherry, driving a multitude of cattle, but unaccompanied by any troops on foot, even their own, that, if interrupted, the horse might be free to force their way, or retire. The rule of these countries had so often been shifted to and fro by the fortune of war, and they had suffered so much, as well from the ravages of hostility, as the concussions of unsettled government, that they regarded both the English and French at least as tyrants, when not enemies; and, at this time, the renters and heads of villages, not knowing how soon they might have new masters, gave no assistance to Major More's detachment, who, distressed for provisions, and misled by false intelligence, advanced from Villaporum towards Tricalore, where they expected supplies, and hoped to intercept the Mysoreans in their route; who had passed before to the south, by Trivanelore, and arrived at Trivadi on the 23d, where they halted the day. Mr. Lally, apprized of their approach, had moved his whole army from the bound hedge to his former encampment at Perimbé <sup>in</sup> full sight of Valdore, and then detached 50 of his European cavalry to join the Mysoreans on the road. Colonel Coote received quick intelligence of their arrival at Trivadi, with an account of their numbers,

1760 bers, and immediately sent out all the cavalry remaining in the camp, which were 1000 black, and 80 European horse : they were led by Vasserot, but whilst proceeding straight towards Trivadi, the Mysoreans filed off from thence along the Panar, until they reached the bounds of Fort St. David, and then crossing the plain, and keeping about a mile from the sea, came in towards the evening at Ariancopang, three miles in the rear of the French camp at Perimbe. They set out from Trivadi, with 2000 head of cattle, which retarding their march, they left in different herds in various places, intending to return and bring them in by detachments ; so that only 300 bullocks arrived with them at the French camp.

June.

The day after, Mr. Lally, in order to make proof of their service, advanced with them all, and the French European horse, towards the grand guard of the English cavalry, which was posted a mile and a half in front of the camp. All, when at a proper distance, set off on the gallop, and surrounded the guard on every side. Colonel Coote immediately pushed to relieve them with the main body of the cavalry, from the camp ; but before they came up, as these kind of onsets are generally decided in a very few minutes, the whole guard was dispersed, and hurrying back to take shelter with the main body. The Mysoreans carried off 30 horses belonging to the black cavalry, and seven to the hussars.

Ensign Turner, who commanded at Cuddalore, receiving intelligence of the cattle which had been left on the way, went out with the Sepoys of his garrison, and in two or three days collected and drove in 900 of them ; and none of the rest got into Pondicherry.

The detachment of Mysoreans escorted the officers appointed by Hyder Alley to settle the treaty and the plan of operations with the French government. A little before their arrival a report had been spread, that orders were on the way recalling Mr. Lally to France ; which the Mysoreans hearing insisted that Mr. Deleyrit, and all the members of the Council, should sign the treaty ; had they refused, no further assistance was to be expected ; they therefore signed it, but at the same time composed a protest, which they kept entirely

tirely secret amongst themselves, objecting more especially to the monthly sum which the Mysoreans were to receive as pay, to discharge which no money existed ; and that the territories ceded to them were of much more value than the indefinite services they were likely to perform. Nevertheless this clandestine disapprobation was unworthy their office, being calculated to exempt themselves from blame, and to exaggerate it on Mr. Lally, if affairs should better with the assistance of the Mysoreans ; at the same time the apparent sanction evinced that the council saw no immediate means so likely to stop the progress of the English successes, which had taken every thing abroad but Thiagar and Gingee, and were at this instant menacing the capital, Pondicherry : so that had the council meant sincerely, they only promised the half of what they had lost, or never possessed, to obtain the only chance of gaining the other half, perhaps of preserving what remained. The treaty was signed on the 27th, and on the 28th at night all the Mysoreans went away, promising to return very soon with their whole force, and abundance of provisions. The next day the French army retreated from Perimbé to the bound-hedge.

In this interval, the squadron had been joined by two ships of the line from England, the Norfolk of 74, and the Panther of 64 guns, which anchored at Cuddalore on the 15th ; and a few days after one of the Company's ships arrived from Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, with a detachment of 100 Europeans, and 122 Topasses, sent from that settlement by order from Bombay. This, with the detachment of artillery which arrived a little before, would have been a great reinforcement at any time, but was at this juncture more especially seasonable ; and these exertions did honour to the councils of that Presidency, which had hitherto been very cautious of parting with any part of its force.

On the 30th, the day after the French army returned to their bounds, Colonel Coote detached the remainder of the hussars, who were 20, 500 black horse, 50 European infantry, and four companies of Sepoys, to Major More, that he might be strong enough to encounter the whole body of the Mysoreans in their approach to Pondicherry. This officer had been joined at Tricalore on the 24th, by Kistna-

row,

1760 row, with 500 horse, and as many Sepoys. They proceeded against Trichimungalum, which surrendered after a short resistance on the 26th. The garrison were a serjeant, another European, and 180 Sepoys, with a much greater store of ammunition than their number required. They had collected 900 head of cattle in the fort, and a large quantity of grain in the town. Major Moore was again misled by his intelligence, and the party of Mysoreans returning from Pondicherry to Thiagar passed again out of his reach.

Mr. Lally determined to risque nothing before the main body of the Mysoreans arrived ; and his troops were too strongly posted in front of, and within the bound-hedge, to be attacked by a force, which exceeded them so little as the English army, since the detachments it had lately sent abroad. So that both armies concurring in the same caution, in expectation of the same event, nothing of any moment passed between them for twenty days. Colonel Coote, in this interval, went to Madrass. He left the camp on the 6th of July, and returned on the 14th. The next day he received intelligence from Major Moore, that the Mysoreans were set out from Thiagar, with a very large convoy of provisions. This intelligence was confirmed the next day, with their route ; and at three the next morning, which was the 17th, the van division of the army under Colonel Monson moved, and took possession of Perimbé, which is the ground under the point of the red-hill directly opposite to Villenore. The rest of the army came up before daylight ; a party was immediately detached to take possession of the pettah of Villenore, and make preparations for batteries ; another destroyed a redoubt on the hill over Perimbé, which the enemy had lately erected, in the spot where they before had raised the barracks for their cavalry, which Colonel Coote had burnt on his first excursion to reconnoitre this ground from Permacoil. The distance across, from the Red-hill, to the fort of Villenore and the river of Ariancopang, is little more than a mile, and the army possessed the whole space in posts and enclosures, which could not be attacked in front towards Pondicherry without great disadvantage ; and nothing was apprehended in the rear, although the Mysoreans were coming ; for they,

they, it was not doubted, would, as before, endeavour to join the 1760  
French army, by avoiding the English.

July.

On this day, the 17th, the troops with Major Moore, and the whole body of the Mysoreans, advancing by different routes, arrived nearly at the same hour in sight of Trivadi. With Moore were 180 European infantry, 30 Coffrees, and 50 hussars, and together with Kistnarow's the black horse were 1600, and the Sepoys 1100. The Mysoreans were 4000 horse well mounted, 1000 Sepoys, and 200 Europeans, or Topasses of the French army, of whom a part managed eight pieces of cannon. At this time, when the English troops had been so long accustomed to success, it was supposed, that the force with Major Moore, notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, might have stood at least an obstinate brunt; but it happened otherwise; for by some mischance or misconduct, of which to certain account has ever been given, they were totally routed. The black horse and Sepoys, who it is said first gave way, dispersed in every side; five and twenty of the hussars were cut to pieces, and most of the rest were wounded; they were the only part which behaved with firmness, fighting after they were deserted by the European infantry, who retreated in great hurry and disorder to the fort of Trivadi, which they gained with the loss of 15 killed and 40 wounded.

The news of this misfortune reached Colonel Coote the next day, and increased his anxiety to get possession of Villenore; for it was not doubted that Mr. Lally, as soon as joined by the Mysoreans, would make every effort to save this place.

The left of the English encampment was at the foot of the hill of Perimbé, and it extended 1500 yards to the right, across the plain towards Villenore. Through the center of the camp passed a road (raised as all the others on the plain above the common level of the ground, and) with a row of trees on each side. This avenue comes almost in a straight line from a redoubt in the bound-hedge, called the Villenore; but receives its name from the village of Oulgarry, through which it passeth about half-way between the bound-hedge and the hill of Perimbé. At a thousand yards in front

1760 of the English encampment, and 2000 from the bound-hedge, July. another avenue called the Villenore, strikes off from the avenue of Oulgarry, on the left as you come from the bound-hedge, on the right, if looking from the camp. The Villenore, after continuing 400 yadrs at a right angle from the Oulgarry, turns nearly at another right angle, and leads straight west, and parallel to the other avenue; but ceases midway in the plain between Perimbé, and the fort of Villenore, which Colonel Coote was preparing to attack, and which must always be distinguished, in considering our narrative, from the redoubt of the same name in the bound-hedge: the Villenore avenue, towards its termination, covered the right flank of the English camp. From a redoubt in the bound-hedge, at 1000 yards to the right of the avenue of Oulgarry, commenceth another avenue, called, as well as the redoubt itself, the Valdore: this avenue continues only 1000 yards straight to the west, when, stopped by the opposition of the Red-hill, it inclines in another straight line to the left, until it has verged within 300 yards of the avenue of Oulgarry, which it then joins in another straight line, and at a right angle on the right, exactly facing the junction of the Villenore avenue on the other side the road, so that both together intersected the avenue of Oulgarry at right angles in the same point. It was along the Valdore avenue that Colonel Coote, with his cavalry, followed the French troops, when they retreated before him on the 7th of March, the first time he went to reconnoitre the ground about Pondicherry. Exactly opposite to the second angle of the Valdore avenue, as you come from the bound-hedge, and the first if you are going to it from the avenue of Oulgarry, stands a hillock, the highest, and the only conspicuous one on the plain, detached from the Red-hill; from the outward ridge of which this hillock is about 300 yards distant: thus situated, it commanded in flank the third or last, and in slant the middle or second turning of the Valdore avenue. Colonel Coote, having considered all the ground we have described, fortified the hillock with a closed redoubt of three guns, threw up a retrenchment of three guns across the avenue of Oulgarry, 150 yards in front of the spot

spot where it is joined by the two others, and raised another across 1760 the Villenore avenue. Both retrenchments, and the redoubt on the hillock, lay nearly in the same line in front of the camp, which the hill of Perimbé defended on the left ; on the right, the plain on the other side of the Villenore avenue was open and passable to cannon and cavalry, even to the rear of the camp. But this approach would now be protected by the troops stationed in the villages under Villenore, and employed in the attack of this fort. All the three works were finished between the night of the 17th and the morning of the 19th. This disposition was devised with much science ; for every thing was obviated which might produce a general disaster, if the troops should be compelled to quit the attack of Villenore, of which the success was scarcely probable, if the enemy, as might be expected, risqued boldly for its safety.

A thirteen-inch mortar, sent from Madrass, and landed at Cuddalore, arrived in camp on the 19th, and was immediately planted to bombard the fort ; but the shells sent with it were too small, and would not take any certain range, and heavy rains prevented any work at the batteries during the night.

The next morning the French army, not yet joined by the whole body of Mysoreans, appeared advancing along the river of Arian-copong, as if they intended to attack the detachments stationed to guard the batteries ; on which Colonel Coote marched from the right of the camp with the two battalions of the company's troops, and half the horse and Sepoys to meet the enemy, who halted, and began to cannonade ; during which Draper's and Coote's regiments with the rest of the black troops, by previous disposition, marched from the left of the camp along the foot of the Red-hill, as if they intended to storm the redoubts of the bound-hedge, and get into the rear of the enemy's army. Mr. Lally believed this feigned intention to be real, and immediately retreated to his former stations ; a few of the English cavalry and Sepoys were wounded. In the evening the Mysoreans arrived from Trivadi with 3000 bullocks, carrying their baggage, and drawing their artillery, and 3000 more laden with rice, and other provisions ; the

French

1760 French detachments from Thiagar and Gingee accompanied them :  
July. they came in unmolested, as before, by Ariancopang, and their arrival was complimented with a long salute of cannon. In the evening the guards before Villenore were reinforced, and double diligence employed through the night at the batteries.

The fort of Villenore was a circle 50 yards in diameter within the wall ; it was surrounded by a ditch, a covered-way, and a glacis cut in angles, as a star. The rampart was a construction of masonry, divided into ten lodgements, or chambers, which were arched, the vaults bomb-proof, and the interstices at top were filled up to an equal level, which formed the terrace on which the cannon were mounted. Each of the chambers, was likewise opened through the outside of the wall in casements intended for cannon, but none were mounted in them. The breadth of the rampart, which was the length of the chambers, was 30 feet, and reduced the area within to a small pentagon, which in no direction was more than 45 feet over ; so that if the chambers had not been bomb-proof the place could not have stood an hour against this kind of artillery. Two villages lay near the fort, one directly north, the other to the north-east. They were about 200 yards from each other, and both were occupied by the English troops. The passage through the glacis to the fort was straight, and nothing obstructed the view quite up to the foot of the wall but the barrier gate, and the draw-bridge, when up ; neither of which could resist a shot ; nevertheless, the French had neglected to cover this opening by a traverse, either in front or behind the passage. The advantage was taken, and a battery of two eighteen-pounders was erected between the two villages, to breach through the opening : another of the same force was erected in the village to the north, to destroy the parapet, and take in reverse the part intended to be breached.

Both batteries opened with the day on the 16th. At nine o'clock the French army, with all the Mysoreans, horse and foot, approached along the bank of the river of Ariancopang. Some of the black horse and Sepoys, with three field-pieces, were sent from the English camp to stop their advanced parties, whilst the line got under

1760  
July.

under arms ; and as soon as they were in motion, a detachment of Europeans, with four field-pieces, filed off from the right to reinforce the villages of Villenore. By this time the batteries there had beat down the parapet, and silenced the enemy's fire from the fort, when two companies of Sepoys set off on the full run, and posted themselves under the brick facing of the covered-way, in a hollow, where the earth had not been filled up, as in other parts, to the crest of the glacis ; some, more adventurous, jumped over the wall. Still the garrison had nothing to fear ; for the Sepoys had a ditch to pass, and a very imperfect breach to mount\* : but the commanding officer held out a flag of truce, and opened the gates to a detachment of Europeans, who hastened up on the first sight of the flag. They immediately raised the English colours on the rampart, and turned the guns against the French and Mysoreans, who were advanced along the river-side within the random reach of cannon-shot. The change was received with the curses of every man in the French army. All the lines stopped involuntarily, and at once, stricken by horror ; and Mr. Lally, more confounded than any, immediately ordered the whole to retreat under the guns of Ariancopang. There were in the fort 30 Europeans, 12 Coffrees, and eight pieces of cannon on the ramparts, which might have held out two days longer, before the English would have ventured to storm ; and ten minutes more in the present hour would have brought on a general engagement to decide its fate. Of all his successes, Colonel Coote deemed this the most fortunate, because least expected. Nevertheless he had exerted much ability to place the army in a situation to make the attack in sight of the enemy's, and, if it failed, have nothing unequal to apprehend.

The first arrival of the Mysoreans in the province had alarmed the Presidency of Madrass, as much as it surprized the army ; for, besides the interruption they might give to the success of the war, the Nabob's revenues were lost wherever their parties appeared ; and, as horse, they might in the back country extend their ravages from Tritchinopoly to Arcot : and this detriment was the more dreaded, because the company in England, relying on the treasures of Bengal, had

1760 had determined to send no bullion to any of their settlements in India, and the Presidency of Bengal had consumed all their incomes, and were borrowing money. It was therefore proposed to the Nabob, who was at Madrass, to march with what troops had accompanied him thither, supported by a detachment of Europeans from the garrison, in order to protect the countries between Gingee and Trinomaly, and all behind them to Arcot. Captain Richard Smith, at Trichinopoly, as soon as he had acquired intelligence of the strength and intentions of the Mysoreans which were come into the Carnatic, proposed the c<sup>x</sup>pediency of a diversion, by marching with a force from his garrison, and attacking the districts of Mysore, which confine on the westward to those of Trichinopoly, whilst the troops ordered by Mahomed Issoof from Madura, should keep the Mysoreans of Dindigul at bay. The idea was approved as the most probable resource ; he was ordered to carry it into execution, and Tanjore and Tondimam were requested to give him what assistance he might require.

The Nabob marched from Madrass on the 3d of July, and on the 7th he arrived at Vandivash ; after loitering there some days, he suddenly changed his mind from keeping the field against the Mysoreans, and went away to make his entrance into his capital of Arcot ; but left 700 of his horse, and 500 of his Sepoys, with his brother Maphuze Khan, who on the 22d came with them to the army at Perimbé. The day after Colonel Coote, with all the cavalry of the army, a great part of the Sepoys, several field-pieces, an eighteen-pounder on a field-carriage, but without any European infantry, advanced towards the bound-hedge. This defiance as it were of meeting the Mysoreans with equal arms could not provoke them to come out and try their strength ; but the French infantry advanced and cannonaded from seven pieces of cannon, which only wounded two European gunners.

The next morning, the 24th, on intelligence that a large body of the Mysoreans intended to march that night to the westward to escort provisions, Major Monson was detached, with all the black cavalry, six companies of Sepoys, and two field-pieces, to take post

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Jul.

at Valdore, near which, it was supposed, the Mysoreans would return ; but only a few were gone out, who halted at Rangapillah's choultry on the sea shore, six miles to the north of the bound-hedge, where they were joined on the 26th by the large body from Pondicherry, of which intelligence had been given on the 24th. All went on to Permacoil ; Major Monson followed them on the 27th, and arrived on the 28th, when none were remaining there. In the mean time, Lieutenant Eiser had been detached from the camp on the 26th, with 400 Sepoys, 30 Europeans, and a hundred black horse, the best in the army, to proceed from Rangapillah's choultry along the sea-shore, whilst Major Monson was endeavouring to come up with them on the other side ; but they had struck off in several parties, some towards Gingee, others to the northward, spreading to collect cattle, and destroying whatsoever else belonged to the inhabitants, who, as their ground now supplied the English army with provisions, were every where considered by the French as armies. One of these parties went to Allamparvah, where they plundered the pettah, and took a Lieutenant, who was sick, and chancing to be taking the air, having shot him through the back as he was endeavouring to escape in his palakin ; however the cannon of the fort drove the party away, and, as they were returning along the shore towards Pondicherry, they fell unawares across Eiser's detachment, by whom they were intirely routed, and 30 of their horse surrendered to him, with which he returned to the camp in the evening, where major Monson's division likewise rejoined the same day ; for the whole cavalry of the camp had marched in these two divisions.

The last day of the month brought the welcome arrival of five of the Company's ships from England in the Road of Cuddalore : and two days after came in another, which had separated from them. There were on board of the six, 600 men drafted from regiments in England, to replace the deficiencies which might have happened in Draper's and Coote's.

On the 3d of August, the free company of Frenchmen were sent <sup>August</sup> to get in the rear of one of the enemy's advanced posts, which lay in

1760 in the Valdore road, about half a mile from the bound-hedge. They  
 ↙  
 August. marched along the skirts of the Red-hill, and, coming by surprize,  
 killed and wounded several, and drove the rest to the bound-hedge.

The Mysoreans, according to their contract, had delivered all the provisions they brought into the magazines of Pondicherry, where they were carefully stored for future need. The pursuit of Monson, and the success of Eiser, deterred them from going out again in large detachments, and although the English army could not cover the ground sufficiently to prevent small parties from getting back, with a few head of cattle or other provisions, yet all these supplies were unequal to the daily consumption of 10,000 mouths ; for, with their followers, the Mysore army amounted to this multitude ; and in a few days rice began to sell in their camp at the rate of two pounds for a rupee. This distress, the constant fatigue and risque necessary to redress it, and their convictions of the superiority of the English army, as well by the loss of Villenore, as the caution of the French to risque an engagement since that event, made them weary of their expedition and alliance ; and their Sepoys, foreseeing less likelihood of retreating with safety than the horse, began to desert in numbers every day.

The garrison of Gingee had collected 2000 carriage bullocks, and rice to load on them, and, with various parties which had got out from Pondicherry, 150 Europeans of the infantry, and 100 of the cavalry, were waiting there to escort this train, expecting to be joined by the Mysore horse ; who were by this time determined to go away to Thiagar, and return no more ; on which, 50 more Europeans, with three companies of Sepoys, were detached from Pondicherry, to reinforce the convoy. Colonel Coote took measures to prevent its arrival. Some Sepoys patroled along the sea-shore, as far as Rangapillah's choultry ; from Alamparvah, Martin, with the free company, four of Sepoys, and three field-pieces, marched on the 12th, to lie between, Valdore and Perpacoil, and were reinforced the next day by 30 hussars with Lieutenant Kircher. Whilst these parties were on the north and n. w. Ensign Turner marched from Cuddalore to Trivadi, with the seven companies of Sepoys

belonging to that garrison, in which Major Monson remained 1760 with the troops just arrived from England: so that the outlets to the s. w. and s. were equally well guarded, and the main body of the army lying between Villenore and the Red-hill utterly precluded the passage to or from the west. The convoy from Gingee were expected to set out on the 12th, but did not until the evening of the 13th; intelligence of which was soon after brought to Colonel Coote, who went off at 11 at night, with all the black cavalry, 200 Europeans, the hundred Topasses from Bombay, and two field-pieces, and proceeded towards Killenore. The same night the greatest part of the Mysore horse decamped from the glacis of Pondicherry, and marching fast fell in when it was deep dark with Martin and Kircher, who, charging them unexpectedly met no resistance, killed 40, took 200 of their horse, and 900 bullocks laden with their baggage. At day-break Colonel Coote came up with his party, when all the Mysoreans were not yet out of sight; they were retreating in broken parties to the west-ward. Colonel Coote divided his force in pursuit of them, which returned the same day with many more bullocks and two European prisoners. One division of the Mysoreans escaped both the encounter and pursuit. They were at some distance in the rear, when the front was stopped, on which they immediately turned back, and passing as they had come at the back of the Red-hill, and by the sea shore, regained the bounds of Pondicherry.

Notwithstanding this rout, it was still considered as doubtful, whether the Mysoreans might not join and return with the convoy waiting at Gingee: and to prevent the continual fatigue of detachments marching from the camp on every report, to watch and intercept their approach, it was determined to post a force sufficient to cope with them separate from the main body of the army, which continued at Perimbé. The detachment which had accompanied the Nabob from Madrass, when it was supposed he intended to keep the field towards Trinomaly, advanced from Vandivash; and on the 19th encamped at Ratlagramon, a town under the hills to the east of Gingee, and ten miles north of Valdore; a station which the

August.

1760 convoy could not avoid without much circuit and trouble. The detachment was immediately joined by another from the camp, when the whole amounted to 200 European foot, 50 Coffrees, 500 Sepoys, 50 European horse, hussars, and 500 black horse; they were commanded by Captain Preston.

August.

The 500 Mysoreans which had returned to Pondicherry were afraid to venture out again in a body, but in every of the succeeding nights sent off small parties, which passed undiscovered. To stop those which remained, two companies of Sepoys, with 100 of the black horse, were detached with Ensign Meredith, and took post at Rangapillah's choultry. Another detachment of Sepoys marched the same day from the camp in quest of a party of Europeans which had marched the night before from Pondicherry for Gingee, but only brought back four, whom they had picked up lagging on the road with fatigue. Early the next morning, a strong detachment from the bounds attacked the post at Rangapillah's choultry, and obliged the party there to retreat. On the first notice, two companies of Sepoys, and all the grand guard of cavalry, marched to sustain them, and the enemy retired on their appearance.

In two or three nights more, all the Mysoreans who had returned to Pondicherry were gone, and all their parties had escaped without interruption. News was received at this time that their main body which had assembled at Thiagar, were marched from thence to attack Trinomaly; it was therefore concluded, that they would make no farther efforts of consequence to succour Pondicherry with provisions; and in this persuasion, the Presidency resumed the intention of blockading Pondicherry by sea and land; and the Governor Mr. Pigot came from Madrass to confer with Admiral Stevens and Colonel Coote on the means.

The ground between Villenore and Perimbé was the best on which the English army could continue, whilst the Mysoreans remained with the French; for it presented a narrow front, was of hazardous approach, afforded several strong posts, and was centrally situated for the expedition of detachments to interrupt any which might be sent from, or coming to the enemy's camp. But this situation did not

not fully answer the purpose of a blockade, which was to reduce 1760 the town by famine; for, being five miles distant, the army was not sufficient to form a chain of posts in a curve of 15 miles from the sea-shore on the north to the sea-shore on the south of the town, close, or in all parts strong enough, to intercept every thing. The bound-hedge of Pondicherry sweeps from the north to the s. e. of the town, where it ceases on the bank of the river of Ariancopaung, which in two arms, with an island between them, supplies the rest of the barrier to the south of the town. The area included by the hedge with the arms of the river, comprises nearly seven square miles. This ground afforded pasture for a number of cattle, which, if unmolested, might, whilst the English army remained at their present distance, supply the troops and inhabitants with provisions for several months; and the daily consumption might be replaced by small convoys from without; so that the enemy could not be severely distressed, until pent within the bound-hedge, when its redoubts and other stations in possession of the English, would suffer nothing to remain abroad beyond the foot of the glacis, and even there not in quiet. These posts would likewise obstruct the introduction of supplies in the whole extent of the hedge, and the present stock would remain the principal reliance, until the French army should be sufficiently reinforced to recover them; but now that the Mysoreans were gone, no probability remained of any troops coming to the succour of the town, excepting from the sea. Nevertheless the English force was not yet sufficiently superior, even if in possession of the bound-hedge, to open trenches against the town; and if it had, the preparation, embarkation, and transport of the artillery and stores, which were all to come from Madrass, could not be accomplished before the setting-in of the monsoon, which at farthest might be expected in the middle of October. If the French fleet appeared before this time, the issue of the fight at sea would determine the future success of the siege; if not, their delay must arise from the want of force to cope with Mr. Stevens's squadron; and in this case, it was scarcely to be doubted that single ships, or more, would at any risque venture with relief

in

1760 in the height of the stormy weather, in expectation that the English August. squadron would have left the coast to avoid it, as they had done during every monsoon for the last five years. Thus it became necessary to get possession of the bound hedge and its redoubts without delay ; and then that the squadron should continue in sight of Pondicherry through the monsoon, in order to intercept whatsoever ships might be coming either with troops or provisions : but, previous to the attack of the hedge, Colonel Coote thought it necessary to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, which standing on the south side of the river, almost opposite, although at some distance from the termination of the hedge on the other bank, commanded all the ground between, as well as in front down to the strand of the sea ; so that from the garrison of the town on the one hand, and the fort on the other, this quarter of the circumvallation, supposing the hedge to be taken, could not be completed without more force than the army could spare from other parts ; and even then the posts established on this side would be continually exposed to dangerous attacks ; in the mean time, this extent of ground would remain open for the introduction of convoys ; which, detachments from the fort of Ariancopang, if taken, might easily intercept. The force of the English army before the town, exclusive of garrisons and detachments, was 2000 Europeans, and 6000 natives, either horse or Sepoys. If Ariancopang were attacked by a detachment, the number requisite, of 800 Europeans, would leave the main body scarcely a match for the whole of the enemy's force, if collected to attack them, who doubtless would make the effort. If Ariancopang were invested by the whole army, they must move from the advantageous ground between Villenore and Perimbe, which would leave all to the north of Pondicherry open, and admit the French army then to detach a force, which, joined with the party already at Gingee, would be able to drive Preston from Rattlagrammon, and bring in, if not the whole, at least a considerable part of the convoy collected there. These grounds and circumstances Mr. Pigot represented in a memorial to Admiral Stevens, and, in consequence of them, requested that he would land all the marines of the

the squadron, to enable the army to attack Ariancopang, and take 1760 possession of the bound-hedge ; and that he would determine to remain on the coast with the whole squadron, through the monsoon. Mr. Stevens was very loth to deprive his ships of their marines during the expectation of an engagement with the enemy's squadron, but at length acquiesced to the necessity and importance of the service they might render on shore ; and promised without hesitation that his squadron should not quit the coast until compelled by irresistible necessity. Accordingly, the marines were landed at Cuddalore on the 27th ; they were, including officers, 423 Europeans.

August.

The Mysoreans, as soon as they arrived before Trinomaly, made an attack on the pettah, in which they were repulsed with the loss of fifty or sixty men : but continued to invest the place. Captain Preston, on intelligence of their intention, sent off on the 22d two companies of Sepoys from Ratlagrammon, who, by bye ways in the mountain, got into the fort on the 26th ; and the day after, the enemy in greater force than before made another assault, in which they were again beaten off, with the loss of sixty men, and an officer of distinction ; the garrison sallied as they retreated, and obliged them to abandon two field-pieces, which they had brought up and used in the attack. The whole raised the siege immediately, and returned to Thiagar.

Two hundred Europeans, with some Sepoys, and two guns, marching round the Red-hill in the night of the 23d, escaped the interruption of the English guards, and arrived the next day at Gingee ; from whence they set out again in different parties, escorting 2000 bullocks loaded with provisions ; of which some were dispersed by Preston, as they were coming out of the hills ; and 300 were taken, when advanced within a few miles of the English camp, by a detachment of Sepoys and black horse, sent out to look for them ; and none got into Pondicherry : but as all that had been attacked had been met in the night, the escorts regained Gingee with very little loss. Three or four thousand more bullocks were ready to be substituted as the convoys sent might fail, and it was now determined to send the whole of this collection together, under the strongest

1760 strongest escort that could be risqued abroad ; accordingly Mr. Lally  
August. detached 100 of the French cavalry and several more companies of Sepoys from Pondicherry, to join the troops already at Gingee ; so that one third of his whole force was now employed in this service ; and he had by much solicitation, and by inducements of which we are ignorant, prevailed on the Mysoreans to send back 800 of their horse to Gingee, who were likewise to accompany the convoy ; and this body of horse arrived there at the same time as the last detachment from Pondicherry. Intelligence was received on the 29th, that the convoy with the whole escort intended to set out from Gingee in the ensuing night ; on which, dispositions were made to oppose their passage.

The whole of the Red-hill is intersected by winding dales, in which troops may march unperceived until met within them, or discovered from the rising grounds above : in the middle of the general plot of the Red-hill, stands one eminence higher than any of the others, and called from the trees it bears, the Tamarind grove : this hillock has dales on each side of it, which join with others, leading from the plain of the country on the outside of the Red-hill to the N. w. at the farthest distance from the English camp, from the left of which shouldered under the extremity of the Red-hill at Perimbé, the Tamarind grove was two miles to the N. E. and it was three to the N. w. of Pondicherry. This situation being central for the interruption of troops marching through the dales of the Red-hill, either to or from Pondicherry, Colonel Coote, who, by his continual excursions, knew all the ground in the adjacencies of his camp, ordered a redoubt to be raised there, which was finished in the day. Lest the convoy should attempt to make their way to the south of the river of Ariancopang, the whole body of marines, which were still remaining at Cuddalore, were ordered to march some miles from thence along the river Paliar, and to advance six companies of Sepoys beyond them towards Trivadi ; whilst scouts from the camp patroled between the two rivers : and, to watch the convoy if coming by the direct road from the west, several companies of Sepoys from Valdore proceeded along it towards Gingee. The convoy set out

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out from hence on the 29th, the day appointed ; but Captain Preston having two days before taken a mud fort, called Penamalee, situated at the opening of the hills, posted a strong guard there, which the enemy mistaking for the whole of his force, retired again, and afterwards hearing of the dispositions made from the English camp, resolved to proceed as before in separate troops.

On the 2d of September arrived at Cuddalore three of the King's ships, convoying several of the company's from England. Of the men of war two were the America, and Medway, each of 60 guns, which compleated the squadron before Pondicherry to 17 sail of the line. In the Company's ships were part of a Highland regiment, supplied by the government, in addition to the troops it had already sent to India. These mighty aids witnessed in this quarter of the globe, as equal efforts, wheresoever necessary, in every other, the superior energy of that mind, who possessing equally the confidence of his sovereign and the nation, conducted the arduous and extensive war in which they were engaged against their great and only rival.

The same evening Colonel Coote ordered 400 men to march and invest the fort of Ariancopang ; but Colonel Monson, the next in command, did not approve the operation, although it had been pleaded to Admiral Stevens, as the principal inducement to land the marines of the squadron : and Colonel Coote, not to disgust pertinacity, when concurrence was so necessary, countermaned the detachment.

Mr. Lally received information, that the detachment had been paraded, and suspected the service for which it had been intended. Such a proof of the opinion which the English army entertained of their own superiority, convinced him that it would soon be followed by some real blow of equal detriment, if they were not immediately convinced, that his own was capable of more than acting on the defensive. He resolved to attack their camp by surprize on the night of the 4th, and his dispositions were made with much skill and sagacity.

In the three ships at anchor before the town, were 150 European mariners ; they were all landed, and Lascars sent on board. These Europeans,

1760 Europeans, with some Sepoys, were allotted to guard the redoubts in the bound-hedge, that all the regular European military might serve in the intended attacks, excepting the artillery men, who were distributed on the ramparts of the town, and in the out-posts which mounted cannon. By the detachments lately sent abroad, the whole force that could march on the present service were 1100 European infantry, 100 European horse, and 900 Sepoys. The battalion of India and the volunteers of Bourbon, amounting to 300 rank and file, had for some days been encamped under the fort of Ariancopang; the Portugueze company, which was likewise called the company of Jesus, and had a Jesuit at their head, with some Sepoys, were quartered in the Company's gardens, situated within the bound-hedge in the road towards the Valdore redoubt; the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, 500 men, the marines of the squadron, 200, and 500 Sepoys, were in the town; the horse were distributed in different patroles. The gates of the town were shut early, and opened again at ten at night; and although Colonel Coote entertained spies and correspondents in the town, not one of them acquired the least surmise of Mr. Lally's intentions, or suspected any unusual operation.

The marines and Sepoys marched out of the town in two parties, told off in equal numbers of each. They proceeded to the Valdore redoubt, and in the way the Portugueze company, with the Sepoys at the garden, fell into the rear and formed the third sub-division of this line. Continuing in the avenues from the Valdore redoubt, the first party soon turned to the right, to gain the Red-hill, and proceed in it to the attack of the Tamarind redoubt; in which, if they succeeded, they were to march across to the left and join the second; which followed them, and quitting the avenue likewise, were to advance along the foot of the outward ridge of the Red-hill, until they had gained the flank of the English redoubt on the hillock in the plain, which they were then to bear down upon, and attack. The Portugueze and Sepoys, which were the third sub-division, were to proceed quite through the three lines

lines of the Valdore avenue, dispersing what patroles and out-guards might be in the way, and to take post at the junction of this avenue with that of Oulgarry, where they were to wait the orders of the officer who commanded the attack, which was to be made by the regiments of Lorrain and Lally. These troops, in two divisions, marched from the town, and through the bound-hedge, along the avenue of Oulgarry, until they came to the head of this village, where a deep water-course crossed the avenue, and had a bridge over it, which was defended by a retrenchment with guns. Here Lorrain halted, whilst Lally's regiment, quitting the avenue by the left, marched outwards in the fields to fall on the right flank of the English redoubt in this avenue ; to which Lorrain was to advance straight along the avenue, and attack at the same time. When carried, the Portuguese company, with the Sepoys, which were the third sub-division of the attack to the right, were to join, and, with Lorrain's and Lally's, proceed across on the left to attack the retrenchment in the Villenore avenue which stood in the same parallel as that in the avenue of Oulgarry ; but the Villenore retrenchment had on its left a large garden, called from its owner, Barthelmi's ; in which were likewise posted a strong guard with some field-pieces. When this garden and retrenchment were carried, all the troops of this attack were to regulate themselves by the success of another attack on their left, which was to be made by the India Battalion and the volunteers of Bourbon. They were to march from the fort of Ariancopang, across the river, to the villages under the fort of Villenore ; but were to leave two field-pieces on the plain in their way from the river, in order to secure their retreat. As soon as the firing became general, at the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the redoubt on the hillock, and the tamarind redoubt, these troops were to advance from the village in which they were halting, and proceed along a short road which would bring them to the termination of the Villenore avenue, and exactly in the rear of the right flank of the English encampment ; on which they were to fall with the utmost vigour, in full confidence, that the other attacks would have thrown the whole camp into disorder.

1760.  
September

1760 by the uncertainty and distraction of what and where succours were <sup>September</sup> to be sent. Mr. Lally, with a guard of horse, remained at the bridge of Oulgarry. Calculation had been made, when all the troops would arrive within equal reach of their respective attacks, where they were to wait in silence for the signal of two sky-rockets, which were to be thrown up at Oulgarry, when all were to advance to the attacks allotted them.

The sky-rockets were shot off a little before midnight, and soon after the firing commenced nearly at the same time, at the tamarind redoubt, the hillock, and at the retrenchment in the avenue of Oulgarry. The attack at the tamarind redoubt was repulsed ; but the redoubt on the hillock was carried ; the lieutenant of the artillery and three gunners were made prisoners there, and the rest of the guard driven out, nor did they rally ; which gave the enemy time to carry off a brass three-pounder, destroy the carriage of another gun, spike up a third, and burn down the battery. At the retrenchment in the Oulgarry road, the attack and defence were more fierce. Colonel Coote himself brought down troops to that in the Villenore avenue and Barthelmi's garden, and, instead of waiting to be attacked, advanced across to sustain the other redoubt ; against which Lorrain and Lally's persisted until eight serjeants, besides common men, of Lally's, were killed ; when the officers, hearing no signs of the main attack on the right and rear of the English camp, drew off. This division, by some unaccountable mistake, instead of advancing to the villages under the fort of Villenore, halted in another a mile to the south of it, not far from the river, and in a line with the village of Oulgarry. At this erroneous distance, they had not time, after the sky-rockets were fired, to reach the ground of their attack, before the three others were either repulsed or ceased. They were led by D'Harambure, who had always behaved hitherto with gallantry, and especially during the march of Mr. Law's reinforcement to Hyderabad in 1756 ; but Mr. Lally, with the usual severity of his prejudices, imputed the failure to a design, as the commander of the Company's troops, of frustrating the honour which would have redounded on himself, had the hardly effort

he was making succeeded to his expectation. About twenty Se- 1760  
ploys were killed and wounded of the English troops, but fewer <sup>September</sup> Europeans. Of the enemy, 30 Europeans were supposed to be killed, and most of them either in Lorrain or Lally's ; four were made prisoners, with Mr. D'Autueil, the same officer we have seen opening the intestine war of the Carnatic at the battle of Amboor, in which the Nabob's father fell, and who afterwards surrendered to Clive at Volcondah.

The ships last arrived from England brought commissions from the war-office appointing majors Brereton and Monson to the rank of lieutenant colonels, with prior date to Colonel Coote ; but both were ordered not to assert their commissions whilst he remained on the coast. Colonel Coote nevertheless concluded that it was intended he should remove as soon as might be to his original and established command in Bengal, nor did Monson propose to continue serving under him, but offered to retire to Madrass ; but Coote immediately delivered over to him the command of the army, and went thither himself, and requested to proceed with his whole regiment to Bengal. The Presidency remonstrated against the detriment, and Monson declared that the blockade of Pondicherry must be raised if these troops were taken away : on which Coote consented to leave them.

END of the TWELFTH Book.



## B O O K   X I I I.

COLONEL Monson being now master of his own views, carried into execution an operation which he had proposed in the council of war a few days before, when Colonel Coote explained his intention of attacking the fort of Ariancopang.

The bound-hedge of Pondicherry, besides its natural defence of trees and thorns, is strengthened by four redoubts ; one on the north, opposite to the north-west angle of the town, another nearly west of this angle, a third nearly west of the south-west angle, and the fourth stands directly south-west of the same point. All took their names from their situations ; the north was called the Madrass redoubt, the next the Valdore, the third the Villenore, and that to the south-west the Ariancopang redoubt. From the Villenore redoubt led the road and avenue, which passed through the center of the English camp at Perimbé and about a mile from the hedge this avenue leads through the village of Oulgarry, in which were several country-houses belonging to the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, and a church belonging to the Jesuits. The regiment of Lorrain and Lally, which at this time did not assemble both together more than 400 men, were remaining in this village since the late attack on the camp. The marines, 300 men, were within the hedge, to defend the redoubt of Valdore with the part of the hedge on each hand. The battalion of India, consisting of 500 men, were stationed at the Villenore and at the Ariahcopang redoubts, and between them. The north side of the hedge, with the Madrass redoubt,

1760 doubt, as being at the fartherst distance from the English camp, wa  
September trusted to the Sepoys. The horse, still only 100 riders, were dis  
 persed in different posts round the limits. The rest of the army  
 which, exclusive of the garrison of Gingee and its out-posts, consiste  
 of 500 European foot, 150 European horse, and 500 Sepoys, we  
 abroad, most of them waiting to escort the provisions collected a  
 Gingee.

At midnight the whole of the English army were under arms  
 a proportional number from each of the different bodies were let  
 to defend the camp ; and the main body appointed to march wa  
 divided into two brigades, of which the principal officers had th  
 day before reconnoitered the ground of their respective attacks a  
 near as the enemy's out-posts would admit. The regiments c  
 Draper and Coote, comprising both together 1000 men, 200 of th  
 marines, the 150 highlanders, with 500 Sepoys, and four field  
 pieces, marched off their ground from the left of the camp a  
 three in the morning, and entered into the Red-hill, in which they  
 were to take a large circuit round the tamarind-grove, and, coming  
 out where nearest, were to attack the Valdore redoubt, and the wes  
 side of the hedge adjoining. This brigade was formed into two  
 divisions ; the grenadiers of the two regiments led the first, under  
 the command of major Robert Gordon ; major William Gordon  
 commanded the rear division, and colonel Monson the whole of this  
 attack. The other brigade was composed of the Coromandel battalions  
 800, the two French companies 120, the Bombay detachment of 350  
 Europeans and Topasses, 600 Sepoys, and four field-pieces. They were  
 to march from the right and attack the enemy's troops posted in Oul  
 garry, and after routing them, to proceed and seize the Villenord  
 redoubt. Joseph Smith, who since the departure of Calliaud to Bengal  
 was the first officer on the coast of the Companie's troops, and a  
 few days before had been appointed by the Presidency of Madras to  
 the rank of major, commanded this brigade. The cavalry, black  
 as well as white, were intended to appear before the Ariancopang  
 redoubt during the two other attacks, in order to prevent the troops  
 there from sending detachments to support them.

Major

Major Smith's brigade, having much less ground to go than 1760 Monson's, did not move until four in the morning. The enemy's <sup>September</sup> entrenchment in front of the village of Oulgarry lay across the avenue, and they had an advanced post in a garden beyond, but a little to the right of the entrenchment. Smith, to avoid the immediate discovery of his brigade, as well as the direct fire of the entrenchment along the avenue of Oulgarry, marched down the Villenore, as far as Barthelme's garden, which lies on the left as you come down ; the line then turned and passed through the garden, which brought them half the distance between the two avenues, when the brigade struck down through the intervals of some inclosures, which led to the left of the village of Oulgarry, from whence they might likewise take the entrenchment in reverse ; but the two French companies were sent off immediately from the garden to cross the avenue of Oulgarry, and attack the enemy's advanced post on the other side of this avenue ; but were not to begin their attack, before the firing commenced upon Oulgarry, which soon happened ; for some black fellows belonging to the French troops, who were asleep in the streets of a ruined hamlet which stood opposite to the angle of the entrenchment, awakened at the wheels of the field-pieces which moved in front of the brigade, and fled with the alarm to the troops in Oulgarry, who immediately began to fire from the entrenchment, with six field-pieces in barbette, and with some aim, as the day had begun to dawn. The English field-pieces, which were of the same number and calibre, drew out of the village to answer them, and were supported by a part of the line ; whilst the rest passed on to gain the flank of the village of Oulgarry : when opposite to it, divisions were detached to attack the enclosures, which the enemy had lined with troops. In the meantime, the two French companies, led by captain Myers, stormed the advanced post on the other side of the road, and seized four pieces of cannon which were there, on which the party stationed with them retreated in much hurry to the main body at Oulgarry, who, dispirited by their rout, slackened insensibly the defence of the enclosures, and ceased

1760 ceased firing the field-pieces in the intrenchment across the avenue.   
Major Smith perceived this wavering, signified it to his troops ; and put himself at the head of the grenadiers. Wherever he commanded, affection to the man conspired with duty to the officer. The grenadiers rushed on without firing, forced their way over the enclosures, and fell amongst the enemy, dealing their arms with irresistible impetuosity, increased by the disadvantages they had surmounted : all the rest entered at other parts, driving the enemy before them across the road ; but those at the intrenchment had time to spike up the cannon, and then followed the rest, who were running towards a rising ground on the other side of the road, but farther back towards the bound-hedge. The main body of the brigade took possession of Oulgarry, and were soon after joined by the division with captain Myers, which had killed some, and brought prisoners. During this, a body of Europeans were described advancing directly towards Oulgarry, in the plain between this and the Valdore avenue : their distinctions could not be perceived, and the sudden halt of the run-a-ways on the rising ground rendered their appearance very suspicious. Messengers after messengers were sent to discover whether they were friends or foes, but none returned before Major William Gordon himself came, and gave an account that the rear division of Colonel Monson's brigade, which he commanded, had separated from the van amongst the sand hills in the dark ; and had continued wandering about until they heard the fire of the attack at Oulgarry, to which he had hastened to give assistance ; but it was now too late ; otherwise his error might have been retrieved by the important service of intercepting the regiments of Lorrain and Lally in the confusion of their flight out of Oulgarry, who, in this case, would in all probability have been destroyed to a man : during his report, strong firing was heard at the Valdore redoubt.

It was some time before the van of Colonel Monson's brigade discovered the separation of the rear, which by turning wrong had got into windings leading towards the plain ; and Colonel Monson, apprehensive that the rejunction could not be made before the dawn of

of day, which was the time destined for the attack of the Valdore redoubt, judiciously determined to risque it with the van division of his brigade alone. They defiled out of the sand hill exactly right, whilst it was still dark, at an opening directly on a line with the western side of the bound-hedge and the redoubt, up to which, the road, when near, leads in a lane between two enclosures towards the flank of the redoubt. Two field-pieces were in the front of the line, followed by the grenadiers of the two regiments of Draper and Coote, after whom came the rest of the Europeans, and then the Sepoys of the division. Colonel Monson knew the ground, and intended that the line, instead of advancing through the lane between the enclosures, should pass through the enclosure on the right, which being a coco-nut garden, was surrounded by a ditch and hedge of little interruption; and the ground within was not only firm, but free from underwood, and the trees themselves have no branches. When past the garden, they were to proceed straight on to the Valdore avenue, which was not far distant, and, having crossed it, were to file down on the other side, to gain the left flank of the Valdore redoubt; where, if not discovered, they could not be expected, and the bound-hedge hereabouts was not so strong as on the other side. The redoubt had a dry ditch, with palisadoes at the bottom, and six embrasures, of which the parapet was fraized. The grenadiers were to rush on, and escalade the redoubt without firing, whilst the rest of the line were, part to support them, and part to spread along the bound-hedge, and to force their way through wherever they could find openings, or at least to continue the fire until they had driven away the enemy, who were expected to line and defend the other side; the two field-pieces were likewise to assist in this service after the grenadiers had passed them to the escalade. The day had begun to dawn, when the head of the line arrived at the two enclosures, and Major Robert Gordon, who, excepting Monson, only knew the course of march, and was to lead the grenadiers to the assault, was not present: and the grenadiers, wanting orders, naturally entered the lane which lay before them. Officers were

1760

September

1760 sent back to Colonel Monson, to know what next they were to do.   
Monson, exasperated at this second mistake in the conduct of his  
September brigade, ran forward to rectify it if possible, or to put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and lead the assault. Just as he reached them, the enemy discovered the line which had got to the end of the lane, within a hundred yards of the redoubt, which in this flank had a twenty-four pounder, double loaded with langrain. They fired it, and its execution was terrible, killing eleven men, and wounding 26; amongst them Colonel Monson fell, struck with a piece of iron, which broke both the bones of his leg. The grenadiers, instead of being dismayed, or now hesitating for want of order, of their own motion, rushed to the escalade; and the officers, of their own judgement, got the line as fast as they could out of the enclosed way, and led them to the hedge, when the attack and defence soon became general and extensive; but the assault of the grenadiers stopped the firing of the cannon from the redoubt, which otherwise would have continued to enfilade the troops attacking the hedge. The grenadiers, although severely galled by musketry from above and in flank, persisted after several repulses, and at length forced their way through the embrasures of the redoubt, when the troops within quitted it, and ran out of the gorge; on which all defending the hedge abandoned their posts likewise, and the whole hurried in disorder to gain the glacis of the town.

The regiments of Lorrain and Lally continued some minutes on the rising ground, in as much uncertainty as Major Smith's brigade, who the troops of Major William Gordon's division might be; but remained firm until they heard the firing at the Valdore redoubt, when comprehending the whole disposition of the attack, they marched off in haste, regained the avenue, and retreated to the redoubt of Villenore. Major Smith immediately followed them with his brigade, pressing so close on their rear, that they passed through the winding of the hedge, without stopping to defend or reinforce the redoubt; this trepidation caught the guard, who, after discharging the guns of their loads upon the brigade as it was advancing

ing to the post, retired with the regiments to the glacis of the 1760 town. Major Smith immediately took possession of the redoubts, and was soon after joined by the Highlanders commanded by Major Scot, who belonging to Monson's attack had forced their way through the hedge between the Valdore and the Villenore redoubts. The battalion of India still continued at or about the Ariancopang redoubt, having entertained no notion of retreating; but were deterred from making any motion to support the other posts, in expectation of being attacked themselves: this however did not happen; for the cavalry of the army under the command of Vasserot, who were intended to make a feint attack upon this quarter, when the other two should commence, did not appear upon their ground until all was finished. There was a small opening in the hedge about a quarter of a mile from the Villenore redoubt, where a retrenchment had been thrown up, and the battalion of India kept a guard, who abandoned it on the appearance of a party which Major Smith detached along the inside of the hedge to attack them in the rear. The total loss sustained in the two attacks, were 115 Europeans killed and wounded, which fell nearly equal in both brigades, but in Monson's heaviest amongst the grenadiers, of whom, besides rank and file, a Lieutenant and an Ensign were killed. The Sepoys suffered much less, having been very little exposed. The French loss was not known; but they suffered most at the attacks of Oulgarry, where some were likewise made prisoners.

The Bombay detachment of 350 men were stationed to guard the three posts in the hedge, and the body of the army assembled and encamped in the paddy-fields to the left of Oulgarry. The situation was ill chosen, being commanded by higher grounds, and liable to be swamped on the first rain; but the talents of Major Robert Gordon were inadequate to the general command, which devolved on him by the incapacity to which Colonel Monson was reduced by his wound. Major Joseph Smith advised that the whole of the Company's battalion, 1000 men, should remain in the village of Oulgarry to cover the three posts in the hedge; and that their gorges, which were open, should be retrenched,

1760 without delay, and sufficient day remained to accomplish the <sup>September</sup> work ; but Robert Gordon, from the false shame of ignorance, would not see the necessity : and in the ensuing night, the enemy made a vigorous attack on all the three posts, which they would have carried, had not the guards defended them, as dearly purchased, with the utmost resolution, until reinforced by the picquets from the camp, when the enemy retreated. Seventeen or eighteen Europeans of the Bombay detachment were killed in this defence ; the enemy's loss was not known, but could not be less. Had they attacked with their whole force, the redoubt would have been retaken, for the guards, inferior in number, had no advantage of defences on the side towards the town, and the main body of the army, exhausted with fatigue, and dead with sleep, were at too great a distance to have come up in time to share the contest.

Two days after, the battalion of India retreated from their stations at the hedge near the Ariancopang redoubt ; but the usual guard continued in the redoubt, and the usual garrison in the fort of Ariancopang on the other side of the river. But the enemy receiving intelligence that preparations were making in the camp to attack the fort, the garrison evacuated it on the 13th at noon, and as they were going off sprung a mine, which blew up the bastion to the east with part of the rampart, and laid the body of the place open. They retreated to the glacis of the town, where the main body of the army lay encamped, and had been reinforced by the arrival of several small escorts with provisions, which the removal of the English army from Perimbé had encouraged to venture round the Red Hill ; the guard still continued at the redoubt of Ariancopang.

The troops which Mahomed Issoof appointed to attack the districts of Dindigul from Madura, were 300 horse, 1500 Sepoys, and 3000 Peons ; but as most of them had first to march from Tinnivelly, it was the middle of July before they commenced hostilities, when passing by Sholavandén, they reduced several small posts, commanding defiles, but weakly garrisoned, until they arrived at a more considerable fort, called Battal Gunta, 12 miles to the s. e. of Dindigul, which made more resistance ; and the troops of Madura having only small

small guns, with much difficulty made a kind of breach, which 1760 they stormed, and carried on the first day of August ; and immediately began to repair and add better works, but had not compleated them before the troops of Dindigul were reinforced from Mysore, and taking the field encamped within sight of Battal Gunta, in which the troops of Madura had kept a garrison, but the main body lay without the walls.

October.

The equipment and departure of the troops which accompanied the Nabob into the Carnatic, and the subsequent assistances sent to Karical, had left the government and garrison of Tritchinopoly so bare of men, money, and stores, that Captain R. Smith could not undertake the expedition he had proposed against the Mysoreans, until all these wants were supplied, which depended intirely on his own resources, for although the Presidency and Colonel Coote approved and recommended to him the most active exertions against the Mysore territory, he received no assistance either of money from the one nor of troops from the other ; so that the preparations necessary for the expedition prevented him from taking the field until the 6th of August. His force was 50 Europeans, with two guns, and four cohorns, 700 Sepoys from the garrison of Tritchinopoly ; 600 horse, and 1000 Peons armed with match-locks, mostly sent by Tondiman, a few belonging to the Nabob, the rest to Tanjore ; and 3000 Colleries from the neighbouring Polygars, who were content to serve on very slight stipend, in expectation of ample plunder in the fertile districts they were going to invade. This army proceeded along the southern bank of the Caveri, and on the 13th came before Pudicotah, a mud fort, situated on the bank of this river, about 40 miles to the west of Tritchinopoly, which, with other districts, the Nabob had ceded to the Mysoreans, when his allies, in the war of 1753.

On their arrival, a report prevailed, that a large body of troops were marching from Seringapatam to Caroor. The garrison at Pudicotah, converting this news into hourly expectation of relief, stood on the defensive, and having three guns, obliged Captain Smith to raise a battery, which, having nothing but field-pieces to mount, would not have soon produced much effect : but, by the

1760 the time the battery opened, the garrison had lavished away all  
 October. their powder, and capitulated. The loss sustained in the attack  
 was only three men wounded. The next day Captain Smith, with  
 400 of the Sepoys, and two cohorns, passed the Caveri to Illoor, a fort situated on the other bank, ten miles beyond Pudicotah ; but the garrison evacuated it on his appearance. From hence he marched against Caroor, the principal object of his expedition.

Caroor is situated 50 miles west of Trichinopoly, and stands on a plain five miles to the south of the Caveri, but near another river, which falls into the Caveri at that distance to the north. The river of Caroor was the ancient boundary between the dominions of Trichinopoly and Mysore ; and this conterminal situation, under the security of a strong fort, and its rule over a rich and extensive district, had formerly rendered it a place of great mercantile resort and opulence, and it still continued populous with some wealthy inhabitants. The river continues at the distance of 800 yards opposite to the south side of the fort, and 1000 yards beyond, turns short, and strikes directly north : along this part, after the turning, and close to the bank, extends the pettah, which likewise has the other course of the river on the south side; but not so near; the extent of the pettah along the river, from south to north, is 1000 yards, and recedes from it about 500, so that the esplanade between the pettah and the fort is 500 yards across. This ground is intersected by two water-courses derived from the river to the south, one of which passes close to the west side of the pettah, and turns along the north-side until it rejoins the river to the east, and thus serves as a ditch on the w. and n. ; the other water-course lies midway between the fort and the pettah, and stretches to the north much farther out into the plain. The whole of the pettah is inclosed by a mud-wall with towers, but of little defence.

The fort is built of stone, and is nearly a square of 600 yards. It has square towers in the curtain, and bastions at the four angles, behind each of which stands a cavalier, or round tower of solid masonry, which rises ten feet higher than the bastion. The whole fort is surrounded by a dry ditch, of which the counterscarp is faced with

with stone ; and on the other side is lined by the foot of the main wall of the curtain, without berm or faussebraye ; excepting along that part of the rampart, which extends from the left of the great gallery in the middle of the eastern side to the bastion in the N. E. angle, and round it half-way along the northern wall ; in which extent a slip of dry ground, 20 yards broad on the eastern side, and 40 on the northern, is left as a place of arms, and skirted with a parapet wall, with loop-holes for musketry ; and round this wall the ditch, leaving the body of the fort, continues. There was no glacis, but a clear esplanade of 400 yards round. The garrison consisted of 800 horse, 1000 Sepoys, 1000 matchlock-men, and a great multitude of Colleries which had been drawn from the hills towards Dindigul. Most of these troops were assembled in the pettah, and manned the walls on the appearance of Captain Smith's detachment, which came in sight on the 17th, in the morning, approaching from the eastward : the river, although it had nowhere more than three feet water, was three hundred yards in breadth.

The necessity of preserving the communication with Tritchinopoly required that the army should command the river during the attack of the fort ; which if advancing from a different point of support, they might have attacked outright at once on the western face : and as the possession of the pettah would best secure the river, Captain Smith prudently made this his first object. If the pettah were attacked on the eastern side, the river was to be passed under the fire of this front : if on the north or south, the attack would be exposed to the additional fire in slant or flank from the fort ; which outvailed the passage of the river, as the ground on the eastern shore was higher than the eastern face of the pettah, which defended the passage. Accordingly the attack was made on this side. The field pieces were posted in the higher ground. The troops were formed into three divisions. The cavalry composed the left ; the auxiliary foot the right ; the Sepoys and Europeans the center. All entered the river in this order, supported by a brisk fire from the artillery. The enemy seemed disposed to dispute the passage, and from

1760  
October.

1760 from the rampart of the pettah kept up a constant but ill-directed fire  
<sup>October.</sup> against the center division ; but the cannon-shot penetrating through  
their parapet did much execution, and seeing the columns to the  
right and left far advanced in the bed of the river, they became  
prehensive that their retreat to the fort might be exposed to these  
bodies of horse and foot on each hand ; and abandoned the defence,  
returning to the fort before either of the columns had crossed the  
river ; but they had killed and wounded some Sepoys in the passage.

The plunder was given up to the troops without reserve ; but they  
found little of any value, excepting grain, of which the whole crop  
of the country was in the town, but no merchants to buy it, nor had  
the troops means to send it away. The strength of the fort, and  
the small number of Europeans with Captain Smith, on whom,  
nevertheless, the success of the attack must depend, determined  
him to proceed with all the caution necessary to their preservation,  
by opening trenches ; and more artillery was ordered from Tritchinopoly. The convenience of the pettah determined the point of  
attack against the south-east bastion, and as usual against its salient angle : the esplanade in this line was interrupted about half  
way between the pettah and the ditch by some staw huts, to which  
the enemy had set fire, but left the mud-walls standing. The next  
morning, which was the 20th, a party of Sepoys were posted there,  
but a strong sally of horse and foot obliged them to retire, and the  
enemy remained in the post : the field pieces advanced, and drove  
them from it, and it was again taken possession of by the Sepoys :  
in a few hours the enemy made a second attempt, but were beaten  
off with loss. The situation being exactly proper for the breaching-  
battery, an entrenchment was thrown round it, and a trench of  
communication continued to it from the pettah, to preserve the  
troops from the fire of the fort, which was incessant, as well from  
their cannon as small arms. On the 23d the artillery with much  
dispatch arrived from Tritchinopoly ; they were one eighteen-  
pounder, two field twelve-pounders, one eight, and one nine-inch  
mortar, with five cohorns ; and by the next morning the breaching-  
battery, was compleated and another in the rear to the right, to en-  
filade

filade the south curtain with ricochet. Both opened at sun-rise, the breaching with six guns, the mortars and cohorns ; the ricochet with two field-pieces ; the fort returned with firmness, and with ~~much~~ vivacity, and the advantage of a cross fire from the s. w. bastion and cavalier on the left, and from the mass of masonry of the gateway on the right. On the 26th the approaches were carried on to within forty yards of the ditch, when the fire of the enemy's musquetry growing strong and sure, Captain Smith ordered the remainder of the trenches to be conducted by double sap, which is with earth and gabions on each side. The small number of Europeans in the detachment, with the inexperience of most of them in carrying on trenches, and the continual fire of the fort by night, as well as by day, rendered the progress of the double sap extremely tedious, insomuch, that seven days were employed in carrying it, although not more than 200 yards of work, to embrace the angle of the counterscarp, and to spring a mine, which blew it into the ditch.

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It was perhaps the first time that the Mysoreans had ever seen an enemy advancing under cover to the foot of their walls, and notwithstanding the novelty of the attack, they suspected, which was true, that the fort might be entered by the same means ; this apprehension, with the ruin that had been committed in a large tract of country round Caroor by the matchlock-men and horse of Tondiman and Tanjore, and the whole body of colleries, who had every day been making excursions, prompted the governor to propose terms for the cessation of hostilities. He began by disavowing any participation of the King with the body of troops which had joined the French in the Carnatic, and declared Hyder Ally, whom he stiled a rebel, the author of that alliance and expedition ; in consequence, he wanted a temporary and conditional surrender. Several messages passed, in the intervals of which the attack and defence was renewed ; at length the eighteen-pounder, the only piece of effectual battery, burst, and the breach was not yet practicable, which induced Captain Smith to agree to the following conditions : " That " an English serjeant, and sixty Sepoys, should immediately be put

1760 " in possession of the bastion attacked, and the English colours hoisted in the fort. That the English army should remain in the <sup>October.</sup> " pettah, or any where else out of the fort, keeping guards at the " counterscarp of the ditch, for twenty days ; during which, ~~if~~ no " orders arrived from Madrass to deliver the fort again to the gover- " nor, it was to be evacuated by the garrison, who, in consideration " of their gallant defence, were to carry away their arms and horses ; " but all provisions and stores belonging to the government of " Mysore were to be left in the fort. If in this interval an army ap- " proached from Mysore, the garrison were in like manner to evacuate " the fort to the English troops : four hostages were to be given by " the garrison, until the conditions were ultimately decided, and an " European deserter was to be surrendered." This capitulation was signed on the 2d of September, and the English Sepoys immediately took possession of the bastion attacked.

Captain Smith in his interview with Boniapah, the governor of the fort, was convinced that the king of Mysore had no concert in the assistance which Hyder Ally had sent to the government of Pondicherry ; and Boniapah having no doubt from the articles of capitulation that Caroor would be restored to the king, proffered to withdraw the garrison to Naincall, a fort 20 miles to the north, and there wait the orders of Seringapatam, and Fort St. George ; to which Captain Smith consented under the restriction, that none of the garrison should act against the English until the fate of Caroor was determined at Fort St. George. Accordingly all the Mysore troops evacuated the place the same day. The acquisition was valuable and important ; for, besides that its revenues amounted to 44,000l. a year, it highly aggravated the resentment of the ministry of Mysore against Hyder Ally, as the author of the loss.

Hostilities had continued in this arrival between the Mysoreans of Dindigul, and the troops of Madura. The Mysoreans continued the attack of Battle Gunta for six days, and having driven away the troops which supported it without, carried the fort itself by assault : but the defence had been maintained with resolution, for in the course of it 30 Sepoys and 20 horsemen had been killed and wounded ; and

of the Peons 50 wounded, and 40, with an officer of note, killed. The 1760 Madura troops retired to a fort three miles distant, called Galamecotah, <sup>September</sup> one of those which they had taken from the Mysoreans, and were there joined by a reinforcement from Madura, which had marched to relieve Battle Gunta, but came too late; this addition rendered the whole body equal to the Mysoreans, against whom they marched, beat up their camp, took their artillery, recovered possession of Battle Gunta, and advanced to reduce the other posts towards Dindigul.

The capitulation of Caroor arrived at Madrass on the 13th of September. On the same day intelligence was received from Captain Preston, that the body of Mysoreans, which had continued with the French troops at Gingee, had moved from thence with all their baggage; and on the 11th the French troops followed, both proceeding in the road to Thiagar. The presidency were by this time convinced that the king of Mysore and Hyder Ally were at utter variance; but considered, that either they might reconcile their differences, or that Hyder, as was most probable, would predominate; and in either of these cases, other schemes might be formed by the Mysore state to balance, as formerly, the contest between the two European nations, against which Caroor in their own hands would be the best indemnity. They therefore ordered Captain Smith to keep possession, still with profession of amity to the king, but neither to give any assistance, nor oppose any force which the king might send against Hyder Ally, but rather to employ his detachment separately against the troops of Hyder Ally, if the opportunity should occur.

Colonel Coote was not embarked for Bengal, when the news of the success against the bound-hedge arrived at Madrass, and with it Colonel Monson represented the incapacity in which he was likely to remain for several months of acting in the field, and requested that Colonel Coote might resume the command of the army. The Presidency seconding the request, he consented, and arrived in the camp on the night of the 20th; where he found the army in the greatest discontent, especially the black troops, for the want of provisions, owing to the avarice of the renters appointed by the Nabob in the conquered countries, who, foreseeing that the

1760 price of grain would rise, suffered none to be brought to the camp.  
September Sickness likewise prevailed, and with the wounded there were 600 Europeans in the hospital.

The next day Colonel Coote caused the gorges of the redoubts in the bound-hedge to be fortified, and fixed posts in proper stations in the higher ground round the camp: from whence on the 23d, a detachment of 200 rank and file, with the company of pioneers, a great number of cooleys and carpenters, marched to a hillock of sand, which stood half a mile from the sea, and at the distance of a mile directly opposite to the Madrass redoubt in the north side of the bound-hedge. Here they were to remain, and raise a large redoubt on the table of the hill, capable of containing five hundred men. On the 27th in the forenoon, Colonel Coote advanced, with his usual escort of three companies of Sepoys, and 300 black horse, towards the Ariancopang redoubt, at which the guard took panic, and firing off the guns before the party were within point-blank-shot, abandoned the post, of which Colonel Coote took possession, and leaving the Sepoys in it, returned in the afternoon with workmen to retrench the gorge; on whose appearance the town cannonaded and threw shells, but without effect, and the gorge was completed the next night. Early in the morning of the 29th, 400 of the enemy's Europeans, with two field-pieces, marched from the glacis to recover the redoubt, and made various attempts, in all of which they were repulsed, until they perceived two companies of Sepoys marching on their right to gain their rear, whom Colonel Coote, who was always early abroad, had sent from the Valdore redoubt; on which the enemy retreated, but as they were going off received the fire of the Sepoys, who were themselves exposed to a strong, but distant fire from the town. The enemy had two officers and seven privates killed, and the adjutant of the Lorrain regiment with 18 wounded. None were killed in the redoubt, and only one Sepoy in the plain. Fifty Europeans were appointed to be the guard in future, as sufficient for the sudden defence, until reinforced; and more would have been

been unnecessarily exposed to the fire of shot and shells, which continued and reached from the town.

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September

In that part of the limits, which is immediately behind the Madrass redoubt, was a regular village of several streets, called, from its intention, the Blancherie, in which all the cloths purchased for the French company at Pondicherry were bleached, and warehouses were built in the village to receive them. As these buildings would not only afford shelter but convenience to the English troops, the enemy resolved to destroy them, and to strengthen the Madrass redoubt, with the ground about it. They began to demolish on the 30th of September, of which Colonel Coote received intelligence, and saw the intention. He went the next day, with his usual escort of Sepoys and black horse, as if he only meant to review the progress of the redoubt he had ordered to be raised to the north of the hedge, in which Major Joseph Smith commanded for the week. After dinner, both officers mounted their horses, and proceeded with the escort along the strand of the sea, towards the limits of Pondicherry, as if they only meant to reconnoitre. The bound-hedge ceaseth at some distance from the water-mark, and left an opening on the sand, which the enemy had neglected to close or obstruct. As soon as near this opening, Colonel Coote ordered the Sepoys to form in three parties, and the horse to divide equally with them ; but the Sepoys having entertained no suspicion that they were led to such an attack, boggled ; on which he ordered the horse to cut down whoever refused to advance, or attempted to run away ; and the Sepoys, ashamed of their backwardness, recovered their spirit. Two of the divisions went off to the right, one to force through the bound-hedge, 500 yards beyond the Madrass redoubt on its left, the other to attack the redoubt itself, whilst Colonel Coote with Joseph Smith remained along the sea-shore, ready to push, and gain the rear of the hedge, and all the three attacks were to be made at the same time. There were some small pieces of cannon in the redoubt, and several guards of Sepoys along the inside of the hedge, all of which kept up a constant fire, but at too great a distance, whilst the two parties sent to the right were advancing

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to

1760 to the ground opposite their respective attacks. All bore down properly, as it had been concerted. Colonel Coote's division easily pushed round, and that on the right through the hedge ; and as soon as within both advanced, driving the guards before them, to gain the rear of the redoubt, against which the division which attacked it had not succeeded, having more difficulties and resistance to encounter ; but as soon as the guard saw the danger approaching from either hand within the hedge, they abandoned the redoubt, and retreated hastily into the warehouses of the bleaching town, which stood within 200 yards inclosed with a high wall. Five Sepoys were killed, and the same number wounded in the different attacks. All the three companies, with an Ensign, were left at the redoubt ; Colonel Coote and Major Smith returned, the Major to his post, the Colonel to the camp, from whence he sent off a party of pioneers with gabions and fascines under the command of Ensign Macmahon, to close and retrench the gorge of the redoubt ; but they were first to proceed to Major Smith's post, from whence they were to be accompanied by a detachment of European soldiers : but Macmahon, mistaking his orders, did not call for this necessary reinforcement. In war more than in all the other occupations of man, neglect rarely fails to bring on its own punishment.

At midnight, whilst the pioneers were at work, they were suddenly attacked by 400 Europeans, and 600 Sepoys, detached from the town. The Ensign, a Dane, who commanded the Sepoys in the redoubt, abandoned it on the first onset, in which Ensign Macmahon was killed ; and the pioneers, surprized and defenceless, escaped as they could ; what Sepoys were within the redoubt jumped out ; but the greatest part, who were stationed round, encouraged by a Subahdar named Coven Naig, kept with him, and gained the plain at some distance without fright, where they formed, under his direction, and followed him to recover the post. They mounted the outside of the rampart, gained footing on the inside, kept it, and continued a hot fire on the area below, especially towards the gorge. The enemy imputed this resolution to much greater numbers than they expected, and than really were at

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the post, and in this supposition retreated to the bleaching-house. Soon after came up a strong party of Europeans detached on the first firing by Major Smith from his post to the north. In the different actions from the first assault, three private Europeans, besides ensign Macmahon, were killed, and 30 Sepoys killed and wounded. The enemy the next morning erected a battery of four pieces of cannon at the end of a lane, which joined the street of the Blancherie, leading as well as that in a straight line to the rear of the redoubt, on which they continued firing two days without killing any of the guard, and then having other occupations they desisted; some musketry still continued in the bleaching-house, but were driven out the next day, and abandoned the village.

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The acquisition of the Madrass redoubt completed the entire possession of the bound-hedge from the sea-shore to the north, as far as the river of Ariancopang to the s. e.; and turned against the town, with every advantage, the line of circumvallation intended for its defence. But the ground to the south along the course of the river, from the redoubt of Ariancopang to the sea, was still open, and the river spreading over sheets of sand, which were often dry, was all times, excepting in the rainy season, fordable; and to secure the passage, Mr. Lally had some months before erected a redoubt, which he called St. Thomas, in a small island of sand in the river, opposite to the center of this face of the town, and about 500 yards from the walls. The rains were now approaching, and the redoubt, if immediately taken possession of, could not be maintained by the English army after the river should fill, and as usual overflow the country; for which reason Colonel Coote deferred the reduction of it, until the rains were passed. In the mean time efforts were still to be apprehended to bring provisions into the town; for the French troops, which had followed the last division of the Mysoreans to Thiagar, continued there; and although the main body of the Mysoreans had left Thiagar, no intelligence was yet received of their departure to their own country.

The French force which had marched to Thiagar, was 400 European foot, 250 European horse, and 1000 Sepoys. The little

1760 little army of observation, under the command of Captain Preston, was not equal to an open encounter with this force ; he, however, with his usual activity, determined to give them all the interruption in his power, and ordered Captain Martin, who, with the free company of 50 Frenchmen, was abroad with the Polygar of Ventivalum in the hills to the south of Gingee, to hang in the rear of the enemy's march ; and moved himself with the main body of his division from Ratlagrammon, to watch their motions at Vieravandi, lest they should turn, and lay waste the recovered districts between this place and Verdachilum. Martin knowing the country, and using the night, picked up twelve Europeans of the French troops. They reached the Panar just as it was swelled by a sudden flood ; and persisting nevertheless to cross it, some of them were carried away and drowned in the stream, which the Mysoreans had passed with ease before the freshes came down. As soon as Preston was arrived at Vieravandi, the garrison remaining at Gingee marched and assaulted Ratlagrammon, in which had been left only two companies of Sepoys, who defended the post with resolution, and obliged the enemy to retire, after they had lost fourteen Europeans killed in the attack, and leaving an officer and three wounded, who were made prisoners. Preston receiving intelligence, that the French troops and the Mysoreans were assembled at Thiagar, returned from Vieravandi to Ratlagrammon, lest they should return suddenly during his absence, and attempt to move to Pondicherry with the convoy of bullocks which still continued at Gingee.

By this time the presidency knew the cause of the departure of the last body of Mysoreans from Gingee to Thiagar, but were not able to account for the march of the French troops so far to the westward, at a time when their utmost efforts became every day more necessary to escort the provisions they had collected, into Pondicherry.

In the beginning of the year, Balagerow, the general and regent of the Morattoes, sent an army of 8000 horse, and the same number of foot, with cannon, under the command of an officer of service, named

named Vizvazypunt, which crossed the Kristna in the month of February, and advancing to the southward stopped frequently to exact contributions from forts and strong holds in the way ; several of which, on denial, they took. In the beginning of June they halted and encamped at Chinabalabaram, on the confines of Mysore to the N. E. and not far from the hills to the N. W. of the Carnatic, from whence Vizvazypunt sent letters, signifying expectations of money, but proffering assistance to the Nabob Mahomed Ally ; and others to the king of Mysore, demanding with more authority the arrears of the chout, or tribute, to which the Morattoe nation pretends a right from all the countries in the peninsula. At this time Hyder Ally, at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, had, as if in disgust, resigned his employments of general and minister : he had some time before concluded his treaty with M. Lally, and sent off the body of 4000 Mysoreans, which came to Pondicherry under the command of his brother-in-law Muctoon Saheb ; relying on this alliance, and his own courage, he was so assured of his importance and safety, that he abided at a town within three miles of Seringapatam, with all his family of women, attended only by 300 horsemen, who were of proved fidelity and resolution. Agents accompanied the letters of Vizvazypunt, with whom the king concerted, that their master should move with his army to Seringapatam, as if to hasten by intimidation the levy of a large contribution, which the king had privately consented to pay. Hyder Ally supposed, that their approach would reinstate him in the command of the king's forces to oppose them, and discovered when near, that the Morattoes had engaged to seize his person ; on which he mounted in the dead of night, accompanied by some of his horsemen, and left his whole family behind. Some Morattoes followed them, whom he out-stripped, and the next day arrived at Bangalore, a strong city 60 miles to the north of Seringapatam. Being the bringer of his own errand, he had time, and found means to engage some of the officers, who prevailed on the rest to declare they would abide by his fortunes ; and in consequence they shut the gates. From this retreat he immediately sent orders to his brother-in-law, to quit the

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1760 Carnatic with all the troops under his command, and to march, avoiding the Morattoes, to Bengalore. Muтоon Sabeb had received the letters, when he moved from Pondicherry on the 16th of August; but concluding Hyder Ally to be in safety for a while at Bengalore, and believing either that a reconciliation would take place between him and the King, after the retreat of the Morattoes; or otherwise, that Hyder Ally might think it most expedient to come himself, and join the French, for the sake of the cessions stipulated in the treaty; he determined, although not to return to Pondicherry, to continue in the Carnatic, and in consequence employed, as we have seen, his troops against Trinomaly, and other places in that part of the country, until he received, in the beginning of September, further intelligence from Hyder Ally, which left no alternative to his departure: on which he recalled the 800 horse which were at Gingee, and without solicitation, with an integrity rare in the polities of India, requested the French force to accompany them in order to receive back the possession of the fort of Thiagar, which he without stipulation tendered of his own accord. On their arrival there on the 13th of September, he fulfilled his word, claiming only on occasion their future assistance, and three days after marched away with his whole force to join his brother. The French left 200 European foot, and five companies of Sepoys in Thiagar, and the rest, being the same number of foot, 150 European horse, and three companies of Sepoys, returned to Gingee.

The restitution of Thiagar, and the departure of the Mysore troops out of the province, confirmed the veracity of the king's disavowal of any participation in that expedition, and the Presidency repeated their orders to Captain Smith and the troops of Madura to cease hostilities in the Mysore districts. Previous to the receipt of these orders, Captain Smith had sent a detachment from Caroor, against a fort called Pudicotah, different from that he had taken in his approach. It stands nine miles to the N. E. of Caroor on the south bank of the Caveri. The garrison evacuated it on the appearance of the detachment, who left a party to hold it, and returned to Caroor. The want of money prevented any farther operations; for, although

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the revenues of the country reduced exceeded 300,000 rupees a year, the devastation of the auxiliary horse and foot which could not be restrained, left no contributions to raise. Captain Smith, therefore, returned with a part of his command to Tritchinopoly, and on the way sent off a detachment to reinstate two polygars, who had been driven out of their pollams by the troops of Dindigul, from whom the detachment met no resistance, as the governor of Dindigul had received orders, in consequence of the capitulation of Caroor, to cease hostilities against the possessions of the Nabob. By this time the troops of Madura had taken five other forts between Batal Gunta and Dindigul, in all seven, and continued to keep possession of them until farther orders, encamping their main body at Batal Gunta, and keeping slight guards in the others. Captain Smith arrived in the beginning of October at Madrass, to give an account of his expedition, and the state of the conquered country ; and soon after returned to his command in Tritchinopoly.

As soon as it was ascertained that the Mysoreans had quitted the province, Colonel Coote, to save the heavy expence of the black cavalry, discharged 500 of them, mostly those brought by Maphuze Khan, which reduced the number to 800, of which 500 were with Preston, and the rest with himself in the camp. A party, with some bullocks, advancing from Gingee, arrived on the 2d of October at Malamoodi, a village twelve miles from Pondicherry between the river of Ariancopang and the Panar, intending to push into the town in the night under the protection of St. Thomas redoubt. On intelligence of their approach, Colonel Coote detached all the cavalry in the camp, which, besides the black, were one of the two troops of Europeans, to lie in their way : of which the party got intelligence, and, leaving their bullocks, returned during the night, and in their return three officers, who lagged behind in their palankins, were taken by some black horse and Sepoys, which Captain Preston had detached to harass the party from Ratalgrammon.

The army had hitherto continued on the ground between Oulgarry and the river of Ariancopang, where they had encamped immediately after the success of the bound-hedge. This ground is always

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1760 overflowed in the rainy season, of which the signs encreased every <sup>October.</sup> day ; and on the 6th the whole army marched off by the left, and encamped on the ridge of the Red-hill, a mile and half nearer the bound-hedge than their first encampment at Perimbé, but to the left of that ground. The heighth and sandy soil of this situation drained and dried the wet as fast as it fell, and secured at least the troops from this inclemency under foot, and large caserns of mat and bamboo were built to shelter them from the other.

At one the next morning, firing of cannon and musketry was heard in the road of Pofdicherry. Besides smaller craft, three French ships, the Hermione, the Baleine, and the Compagnie des Indes were at anchor before the town, as near the surf as prudence permitted, and under the command of 100 guns, mounted along the works on this side, and the strand, to protect the road. These ships were intended to wait until the stormy weather, and then sail to ports to the southward, and return with provisions, of which the prevention would in that season become precarious, even should the English squadron be able to continue in sight of Pondicherry. Mr. Stevens had for some time determined to cut them out of the road. His squadron always continued at anchor before Cuddalore. A fortnight before the present, a night had been fixed ; but the ships beginning to hoist out their boats before it was dark, they were perceived by telescopes from Pondicherry ; and men were immediately sent from the shore to reinforce the French ships ; which was likewise discovered by the squadron, and obliged Mr. Stevens to defer the design, until the enemy's suspicions should have ceased. In the mean time the Tyger of 60 guns was sent to continue near Pondicherry, and anchored a little to the south, two miles from the shore. On the night of the 6th, the enterprize was resumed. The boats, six and twenty, were hoisted out after dark, and manned with 400 sailors, mostly volunteers, and sailed to the Tyger, where all assembled at 12. Soon after they perceived the lights in the great cabin of the nearest ship, the Hermione, extinguished, and concluding that the officers were gone to rest, set off for the attack. The boats moved in two divisions, one allotted to the Hermione, the other to the next ship, the Baleine ;

Baleine ; the attack of the Compagnie des Indes was to depend on 1760 the success of these. To prevent deviation, the boats of each division moved in a line, holding to one another by ropes. The niches of the oars were covered with fresh sheep-skin, to prevent creaking. The watch-word by which the men were to know one another in the attack, was Cathchart, a sound which few Frenchmen can pronounce. It lightened continually, as usual in the nights before the change of the monsoon ; nevertheless, the division to the Hermione got within pistol-shot of her stern, before they were discovered ; when the boats separating, ranged up equally on each side of the ship, and two went forward to the bows to cut the cables. During this approach, all hands in the ships were up, and firing musketry on the boats, and shot came from the guns of the Compagnie des Indes, which lay to command both the other ships. The Hermione was boarded in as many parts as there were boats round her. The crew, which were 70 Europeans, behaved well, defending themselves and the ship with pikes and pistols, when the attack came hand to hand. The man who first attempted to cut the cable had his head cut off by an officer standing to guard it in the bows ; nevertheless numbers prevailed, and the crew were all driven or tumbled down the hatch-ways ; for no concert of surrender could take place, or be trusted. As soon as they were all down, the hatches were closed and centinels fixed over them, and then the mizen topsail, the only sail bent, was set to carry off the ship, which several boats were likewise ready to tow : but by this time, the shore, which had waited until the firing of the attack had ceased in the ship, began a violent cannonade, of which the lightning directed the aim ; and shot continually struck : one destroyed the wheel of the rudder, killed the two men who were steering, and cut the tiller rope. The prisoners confined below deterred every one from going down into the gun-room to fix another rope to the rudder, and the single sail was not sufficient to steer the ship ; the boats remained the only means of carrying her off, and they tugged with such violence, that they continually snapt the towing-ropes. Meanwhile the fire continued from the shore. At length, some imagined that

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1760 that the ship had no motion, and resisted by a cable and anchor concealed under her keel; on which the officer who commanded the attack, resolved to leave her. The prisoners below were told, that it was determined to set her on fire, on which they came up readily to be carried off in the boats, which rowed away with them to the Tyger. When arrived on board, the Captain, Digby Dent, said he should send his own men, if the division did not immediately return to bring off the ship. This spirited rebuke prevailed, all the boats set off again and met the ship half a mile nearer; for the land-wind had sprung up and was driving her out.

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The dispositions for the attack of the Baleine, were the same, and succeeded more easily. The crew made little resistance; only two men were killed before they surrendered. The rudder of the ship was ashore, but several sails were bent to the yards which sufficed to move and steer her, and she was brought, and anchored near the Tyger, before the Baleine came up. No attempt was made on the Compagnie des Indes.

By this time the want of provisions pressed so hard, that Mr. Lally assembled a general council, and proposed the immediate expulsion of the black inhabitants, who represented that their fidelity alone to those who might condemn them to this severe calamity had left it in their power to inflict it: by their removal, likewise, all the Europeans would be deprived of their domestics: and from these considerations the assembly broke up without decisions: but some from fear of the other inconveniences of the blockade during the stormy weather, requested permission of Colonel Coote to send away their families either to the Danish or Dutch settlements on the coast, which were neutral in the war; and passports were granted.

Intelligence was received on the 11th, that the garrison intended to march out a detachment of 400 men, to storm the Madrass redoubt in the bound-hedge, and then push on to attack the large redoubt, which the English army had raised to the north of it; on which the picquets of the camp marched, and took post half-way, in order to fall on the rear of the detachment: being discovered, the

enemy

enemy made no motion, but the next day the town fired hotly, but without execution, on the Ariancopang redoubt.

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The winds had for some days veered and strengthened; and on the 22d and 23d, the two Admirals sailed out of the road of Cuddalore with all the ships, excepting four, which two days after, on suspicion of stormy weather, went away likewise. Their departure was unexpected, because contrary to Mr. Steven's declaration, that he would not quit the coast until compelled by the utmost necessity, which had not yet come. As soon as they disappeared, the Compagnie des Indes, and a sloop which was in the road, prepared as had been foreseen to put to sea. The ship sailed on the 30th to bring provisions from Tranquebar, and the sloop armed with several guns was intended to cruize in the offing for the grain-boats, which at this season of the year come with the wind and current from the northern to the southern parts of the coast, and generally sail in sight of the shore. The four men of war which left Cuddalore on the 23d, anchored on the 1st of November off Alamparvah, from whence they fell down on the 4th to the road of Pondicherry, and gave information, that Mr. Stevens was gone with the other 12 ships of the squadron to refit them in the bay of Trincomaly.

Captain Preston, on the 18th of October, detached some black horse and Sepoys from his post at Ratlagrammon, who came back with 400 head of cattle of those collected by the French, which were grazing in the country round the pettah of Gingee: The detachment was neither opposed or pursued, although a considerable party of the French troops was then in the pettah ready to march. This party moved on the 21st; they were 200 Europeans and Coffrees, 400 Sepoys, 100 European and as many black horse. They crossed the river Panar on its decline, and on their arrival at Thiagar, a detachment larger than their number was formed, and marched away, to attack the fort of Chandamungalum, which stands half-way towards Trinomallee: the fort was garrisoned by four or five companies of Sepoys, with a few Europeans from Chittapet, who repulsed the assault with uncommon ability, having killed ten Europeans and 40 Sepoys, and wounded 50 Sepoys and 20 horses;

1760 horses ; after which the French party attempted nothing more, but returned to Thiagar.

Captain Preston, on the first intelligence of their motion from Gingee, set out, as before, to follow them with the greatest part of his force from Ratlagrammon, but when arrived on the 24th near Villaporum, found the river swelled, and continued on the bank, in expectation of its fall ; and on the 1st of November, the garrison of Gingee, being stronger than the force he had left at Ratlagrammon, again detached a party of 25 European horse and 20 foot with three companies of Sepoys and some black cavalry, to drive away all the cattle about this place, which by the late captures and purchases made for the camp were many herds. Captain Robert Fletcher, who commanded during the absence of Preston at Ratlagrammon, waited until the enemy began to retreat with the cattle they had gathered, when he appeared with 50 black horse, and three companies of Sepoys in their rear, and followed them six miles, but as if cautious of coming too close to their fire ; which continually drew it from them ; when, perceiving that they had almost expended their ammunition, he approached nearer, and engaged them regularly, which they scarcely sustained, and soon broke, and all their Sepoys flung down their arms. Fifteen of them were killed, and 30 with a Subadar or Captain made prisoners : of the Europeans, six were killed, or fell wounded, and 150 muskets were collected. The next day, Fletcher, with a stronger force, marched again from Ratlagrammon, and contriving his time, arrived at night, and entered the pettah of Gingee, which has but a slight wall, by surprise, set fire to it in every part, and met no resistance, excepting the uncertain fire of the cannon from the hills above, and on his return he drove off a greater number of their cattle than the enemy had taken the day before.

The frequent, although slender attempts and enterprizes, which had been made by the body of French troops in the field, in order either to supply Pondicherry with provisions, to gain plunder, or to create diversions of the English force, had in the whole expended more than three hundred Europeans ; most of the rest were now at

Thiagar, and from the force remaining at Gingee, including what the 1760 garrison might on occasion spare, no attempt of convoys to Pondicherry beyond the provisions of a few days were to be apprehended. They had lost, if ever it lay open, the opportunity, when they were in full force. Nevertheless the number of troops remaining at Pondicherry, with the defences and ammunition, still secured the town from every danger, excepting famine; and Mr. Lally not imprudently preferred that the troops he had detached, should remain abroad where they might do some service, and would subsist themselves, rather than return to consume in Pondicherry the slender stock of provisions, of which they had supplied so little. He now wished even to add more to their number for another purpose, on which ill fortune and necessity obliged him to rely as the likeliest means that remained of relieving the distresses of Pondicherry.

November

The French squadron, which had left the coast on the 1st of October of the preceding year, arrived on the 15th of November at the isle of France. This island never furnished provisions sufficient for the settled inhabitants, and had been so much exhausted of the stores collected from abroad, by victualling the squadron at their departure for the coast, that little remained to afford them on their return; and this scarcity had been injudiciously increased by the equipment of two vessels, which had been sent to attack the English factories in the gulph of Persia. In this distress, it was resolved to follow the example of the preceding year, and to send three ships of burthen, under the convoy of the Centaur of 74 guns, belonging to the French Company, to purchase provisions at the Cape of Good Hope. But Mr. D'Aché proposed to give the command of the Centaur to the captain of the King's ship the Actif; on which all the captains of the Company's ships of war protested against this preference, as derogatory to their own rights; and whilst the tedious disputations usual on such occasions were carrying on in writing, with much acerbity and little public zeal, the annual tempest of the elements in this climate arose in the night of the 27th of January, and lasted without intermission, and with the utmost excess, for 36 hours. Thirty-two vessels in the port of Mauritius were torn from their

1760 anchors; but all, excepting one of 30 guns, were stopped by the <sup>November</sup> ooze of the bay from driving on the rocks which fraize the shore; on which all the smaller craft were stranded and wrecked. The ruin was greater on the land. All the vegetation of provisions above the surface was destroyed. The cattle and fowls were washed away by the torrents, or perished by the inclemency, and of the magazines of grain, which are all built of wood, some were overthrown, and the rest opened by the wind to the rain. Three months were employed in repairing the damages of the marine and shore. In this interval, some few provisions were brought by some trading vessels of the Colony from Madagascar, and the surplus of the island of Bourbon. On the 26th of May it was determined to send four ships of war, as fast as they could be equipped, in order to subsist at Foul-point in Madagascar. On the 8th of June, arrived a vessel from France, apprising, that an armament was fitting out in England to attack the two islands of Mauritius and Bourbon; in consequence of which, the French government had sent the regiment of Cambray, of 700 men, to reinforce them; and the squadron, if at Mauritius, was ordered to continue there; and, if gone to the coast, to be immediately recalled. These orders determined Mr. D'Aché to remain with the greatest part of his ships for the defence of the island, but to send away those before allotted to Madagascar; which, to save the consumption of victuals, were not to return to the isle of France until the 20th of August: if at this time they received no directions how to act, the council of war might proceed to the execution of any service, of which the condition of the ships might be deemed capable: meaning to intimate, that they might, if they chose it, go to the coast of Coromandel. The Centaur sailed for Madagascar on the 16th of June, but the other three not in less than a month after, by which time the regiment of Cambray was arrived in several of the Company's ships from France. The news of the storm was brought to Pondicherry by the Hermione and Baleine in July, but by detaining the sailors for a while on board, the report was kept secret, until others properly fabricated and given out, persuaded the colony, and the enemy at their

gates, that the squadron strongly reinforced from France might be 1760 every day expected on the coast. In the middle of October, letters <sup>November</sup> dispatched from Mauritius to Mahé, on the coast of Malabar, arrived from hence, with information of the departure of the four ships to Madagascar, and dubious assurances of their intention to come at all events to Pondicherry. Mr. Lally had always regarded the operations of the squadron as so unzealous and indecisive, that he was convinced these ships would not make the effort. He, however, concealed this opinion, and the intelligence concerning the supposed attack of Mauritius from England ; but gave out that the ships gone to Madagascar, and more, might be expected at Pondicherry with the regiment of Cambray on board. But, despairing of the relief he pretended, he persuaded the Council to conclude a treaty for the assistance of the body of Morattoes under the command of Vizvazypunt, which had lately returned from Seringapatam in Mysore to the confines of the Carnatic.

Vizvazypunt, on his first approach from the Kristna, had in April sent letters to Pondicherry, tendering the same assistance to the French as he was offering to the Nabob and the English : a vague correspondence had continued in consequence of these overtures ; but, on his nearer approach, Mr. Lally sent two agents to his camp. The Morattoe required a sum of ready money in hand, and the cession of the fortress of Gingee, which, besides the influence it would give Balagerow in the province of Arcot, was the wish of a national point of honour, since Gingee had, until the beginning of the present century, been the capital of a race of Morattoe kings, whose dominion extended from the Coleroon to the Paliar. The Council empowered the agents to agree that Gingee should be delivered to him as soon as the English army retreated from Pondicherry, and that 500,000 rupees should be paid him when his own appeared in sight of the town. All the French troops abroad were to join the Morattoes as soon as they passed the hills, and entered the province. If these terms were not readily accepted, the agents were to insinuate that, although the distresses of Hyder Ally had broke any farther expectations of assistance from him, the king of Mysore him-

1760 self would be glad to obtain Gingee on the same terms ; when the  
 ~~~~~ Morattoes would be precluded from the probability of gaining any  
 November advantage by their expedition to the Carnatic.

But as the negociation might be protracted, and provisions, even for a few days, were become of great importance, Mr. Lally ordered the troops abroad to make what effort they could before the rains ceased ; and as Gingee was so closely watched by Preston's command, he directed the main body to continue and act from Thiagar, from whence, by the distance, and the nature of the country between, their motions would be less liable to be ascertained and interrupted. In the mean time, as well to save the consumption in the town, as to convince the Morattoes that the troops in garrison were more than sufficient to defend it, he resolved to send out more to join those already in the field. Accordingly, on the night of the 1st of November, 100 Europeans crossed the river of Ariancopang in boats, and were proceeding along the sea-shore, from whence they intended to turn inland, and gain their way to the west between the two rivers, expecting no interruption, as the rains were almost continual, and had drenched the plain : but in the close of the evening, a guard of Sepoys had been advanced from the fort of Ariancopang, and took post on the strand of the sea ; they fired on the first alarm upon the French party, who, imagining their force greater, and that it had been stationed on purpose to intercept them, hurried back to their boats, and regained the town : only one of the Sepoys was killed ; the enemy's loss was not known, but was supposed to be more.

Excessive rain stopped any farther operations between the English camp and the French troops for several days, during which, both continued intent only on the sea. To oppose the armed boats of the town, some were equipped in the like manner at Cuddalore, which on the 7th took a boat coming with paddy from Tranquebar, and another going thither with effects of value ; and intelligence being received that the ship la Compagnie des Indes, with a schooner and several smaller vessels, were taking in provisions there, Commodore Haldan detached two of the men of war with orders to

to seize them, and every other vessel which had more than the 1760 provisions of their own diet on board. They came into the road on the 8th, where they found the Salisbury of 50 guns arrived from Triconomaly, which had anchored close to the Compagnie des Indes, and kept her under command, waiting orders from the Commodore. The Compagnie des Indes struck on the first summons ; and the schooner, which was loaded with 400 bags of wheat, and some barrels of salted meat, ran ashore. The smaller vessels in the road escaped to the southward ; and the Salisbury sailed away with the prize to rejoin Admiral Stevens at Triconomaly. The news of this loss was received in Pondicherry with as much concern as a disaster in the field. The Danish government sent deputies to Colonel Coote, with a protest against the infraction of the neutrality of their port ; but were shewn intercepted letters, which proved their assistance to the French agents, and silenced their remonstrances.

On the 9th of the month, a ricochet battery of four eighteen-pounders was finished in a ruined village, 1400 yards to the north, between the sea-side and the bleaching town : the shot plunged along the east face of the town, and were answered very hotly by twelve pieces of cannon, which as well from the distance, as the parapet of the battery, by which the guns were entirely concealed, could do no mischief.

On the 12th, Colonel Coote received information, that a convoy was advancing from Thiagar ; they were 24 European and 100 black horse, escorting 100 bullocks, laden with salted beef, and each of the horsemen likewise carried a parcel of it at the croup of his saddle. They crossed the Panar on the 13th, at some distance above Trivadi, and proceeded between this and the river of Ariancopang ; but imprudently lost time in driving 300 bullocks more, which they had taken up in the way. At four in the morning they came up near the fort of Ariancopang, and were immediately surrounded by a detachment of 100 European foot, 40 European and 150 black horse, which were waiting to intercept them. The officer with one of the troopers was killed, and ten, with more than half the black horse, surrendered ; but the other 12 of the European

horse

1760 horse pushed to the river, and were ferried over to the town under
 November the guns of St. Thomas' redoubt. To prevent such attempts in future, 50 Europeans, with a company of Sepoys, were stationed and retrenched on the ship of sand on the sea-shore, opposite to the bar of the river.

By this time the waters of the Panar were run off, and, as the troops at Ratlagramon with Captain Fletcher were deemed sufficient to oppose what the enemy had at Gingee, Captain Preston, with the main body of his command, marched away from Villaporum to attack Elavanasore, to which the officer at Thiagar sent a reinforcement, chiefly of black troops; but after Elavanasore was invested did not advance to its relief. The only guns fit for battery with Preston's division, were two field twelve-pounders, which are too slight against strong defences; but, as the last thing which is done in country forts is to repair them, a breach was easily made, and the garrison capitulated at discretion, although they were 11 Europeans, 19 Topasses, and 400 Sepoys, with three field-pieces besides the guns of the fort.

Preparations had for some time been making at Madrass to convert the blockade of Pondicherry into a regular attack; and on the 16th, the Admiral Watson, a ship of 500 tons, laden with all kinds of stores, arrived, and anchored off the north redoubt, and the massoolas of Cuddalore repaired thither to unload her. On the 18th, Mr. Call, the chief engineer, arrived in the camp, to conduct the trenches.

There were remaining in Pondicherry about 50 horses belonging to the cavalry, for which no forage could be procured either within or without the walls; and, as the grain they consumed was so much taken from the sustenance of the garrison, Mr. Lally resolved to send them with the best riders to Thiagar. Colonel Coote received intelligence of the intention, but not of the time. At two o'clock in the morning of the 21st, 200 grenadiers, with the horsemen, passed the river on rafts, near the bar, opposite to the retrenched guard on the spit of sand, from which the Europeans had been withdrawn, and only the Sepoys were remaining; on whom the

French

French grenadiers immediately advanced, and gave their fire, whilst 1760 the horsemen went off as fast as they could over the plain, taking the ^{November} road to Trivadi. On the alarm, the pickets of horse in the camp mounted, and crossing the river, which chanced to be fordable at Villenore, went in pursuit, and took thirteen, whose horses were too feeble to keep pace with the others.

Major Preston, following his success, marched from Elavanasore, against a fort called Rishavandum, which stands 15 miles to the N. E. of that place: it surrendered to him, after little resistance, on the 22d: the garrison consisted of 200 Sepoys, and five Europeans. From hence he marched against Chacrapollam, a mud fort, 15 miles north of Thiagar; which surrendered to him without making any defence; for the garrison was only a company of Sepoys, with a serjeant. In the mean while, the French troops remaining at Gingee, exclusive of the garrison there, went against Chittamoor, a fort 10 miles to the S. E. and were repulsed, with the loss of 20 Sepoys and four Europeans, killed and wounded.

The landing of the stores from the Admiral Watson had been impeded by the desertion of the boatmen, who ran away, because they had not been regularly paid; but the blockade continued with the utmost vigilance, and nothing, since the last convoy, had attempted to get in by land; several boats coming from the southward, with salt provisions and arrack, were intercepted by armed boats equipped at Devicotah. The increasing distress determined Mr. Lally to consult nothing any longer but necessity; and on the 27th, he turned out of the gates all the blacks remaining in the town, excepting a few who were domestics to the principal inhabitants. The number expelled were 1400, of both sexes, and every age. They wandered in families and companies towards all parts of the limits, hoping the mercy of being suffered to pass away; but they were every where stopped by the advanced Sepoys, and ordered to go back; on which they retired, and assembled round the foot of the glacis, begging admittance, and many of them attempting to pass over into the covered-way, were fired upon by the musketry and cannon, and some were killed. At night they were quiet; but the next day, and for

1760 six more, they repeated the same importunities to the town and the
 November English post, and received the same repulses. Examples of this
 severity rarely occur ; and in civilized war is never exercised but with
 December the utmost reluctance. At length Colonel Coote, finding Mr. Lally
 inflexible, let the whole multitude pass. Their only sustenance, ex-
 cepting the little they had brought out of the town, secreted about
 their persons, had for eight days been the roots of grass they picked
 up in the fields, in which they lay. They were all extenuated by
 famine, and few had homes or friends to go to ; nevertheless their
 thanks were inexpressible, even for this chance of preservation.

The Nabob was present at this act of mercy, and concurred in it. He left Arcot on the 15th of November, and went to Madrass to confer a few hours with Mr. Pigot, from whence he arrived in the camp on the 3d of December. On the 2d and 3d, two vessels, a sloop, and a pinnace remaining at Pondicherry, sailed away for Tranquebar, but the pinnace was taken by the boats of Devicotah.

Four ricochet batteries, which were first to open against the town, were finished on the 8th. We have already given some description of Pondicherry, when attacked by Mr. Boscawen in 1748. All the bastions remained in their first form, which, for a town of this size, was very confined ; but counter-guards had been made before three of them, and ravelins raised before the three gates to the land ; a rampart of earth had been added to the curtains, which before were only walls of brick five feet thick. A wet ditch had been compleated on the three sides to the land, excepting in an extent of 200 yards on the south side towards the sea, where the ground rising higher required a deeper excavation, which for this reason, as being more laborious and expensive, had not yet been dug ; to the extremity of this higher ground where the ditch ceased, came a large creek from the river of Ariancopang, which supplied the ditch all round with water. The berm within the ditch was 25 feet broad ; the covered-way was narrow, and the glacis not sufficiently raised. The face to the east being within a few yards of the surf, and exposed only to an escalade by surprize, had no ditch, but its curtain was flanked by projecting batteries, which likewise commanded the road. The ci-
 tadel

tadel was a pentagon with five bastions, but too small to endure 1760 bombardment; two of its bastions over-looked the east curtain, ^{December} and added to the fire on the sea. The town was very commodiously laid out in straight streets which traversed it entirely in both directions.

The ricochet battery of four guns, which had opened on the 10th of November, had for some time been quitted, and the guns removed to the north redoubt beyond the bound-hedge; because their effect was not equal either to the expence of ammunition, or the fatigue and risque of the guards. The four batteries which were now opened were thus situated. One stood near the beach to the north, 200 yards in front of that which had been abandoned and about 1200 from the walls; it mounted four 18 pounders, and enfiladed the east front of the town. Another of two 24 and two 18 pounders, with three mortars of 13, 10, and 8 inches, was raised on the other side of the morass, which spreads to the west; it was 1400 yards from the walls, and bore, but a little to the left, upon the west flank of the bastion in the north-west angle, which mounted 10 guns, and had before it, within the ditch, a strong and extensive counter-guard, mounting 25 guns. The two other batteries were to the south. One on the edge of a large island, formed by the river of Ariancopang; this battery mounted only two guns, of which, one bore on the bastion next to that in the s. w. angle of the town, the other on St. Thomas redoubt, which stood on the opposite bank of the river lower down; the other battery was raised in a smaller island below the Coco-nut, from which it is separated on one hand, and on the other from the spit of sand, which forms the strand of the sea from the bar of the river. This is called the Sand Island; the battery bore upon St. Thomas redoubt, and on the curtain of the town between the two bastions on this side nearest the sea.

All the four batteries were only intended to harrass the garrison by a cross fire of ricochet shot along the streets or ramparts;

1760 for none of them were on the perpendiculars on which the breaching batteries were intended to be erected. They opened at midnight, between the 8th and 9th, firing all of them at the same time, and in volleys, on the signal of a shell. A little before the first volley, Colonel Coote, with two or three officers, approached towards the glacis of the north front, in order to observe what effect the firing would produce upon the garrison. They beat to arms, but without confusion, and seemed to have every thing in proper order on their bastions; they raised blue lights in different parts of the town, but did not fire a shot. Captain Fletcher, who was with the Colonel, very imprudently quitted him without notice, and went to the foot of the glacis, where he fell in with the sentinel of an advanced guard of Sepoys, whom he seized and disarmed, and was bringing off; when the guard, hearing the struggle, ran into the covered-way, from whence immediately came a hot fire of musketry upon Colonel Coote's party; but Fletcher brought off the Sepoy, who gave no intelligence that was not better known before.

The batteries ceased before day-break, and the guns were kept masked until the afternoon, when they recommenced, and the town returned with great vivacity, but the firing ceased on both sides in two hours. The two batteries to the south prevented the enemy from launching a large boat which they had fitted on the shore near the bar, and drove them likewise from their guns in St. Thomas's redoubt, which were only mounted in barbette.

The firing was variously renewed in the six following days, but diminished much on the 18th from want of powder; but the purpose of wasting the garrison with fatigue, which their scanty allowance of provisions rendered them little able to endure. On the 19th, a party of pioneers appeared at work with great eagerness, to raise and convert the barbette of St. Thomas's redoubt into a parapet with embrasures. The battery on the sand island fired to interrupt them by night as well as by day, but they persevered. On the 20th, some powder arrived in a vessel from Madras,

drass, and the enfilade and bombardment recommenced from all the batteries as before ; and was constantly answered with the same vivacity from the town. On the 23d, the ship Duke, of 500 tons, arrived from Madrass, laden with 17 pieces of battering cannon and their shot, with all kinds of stores for the siege ; but so few of the boatmen had returned to their massoolas, that very little could be landed until others were assembled from the neighbouring ports on the coast, and even from Madrass : this delay, however, appeared of less detriment, because the materials for the trenches, and for the batteries which were to dismantle the defences and breach the body of the place, were not yet collected, and the engineers reported, that they should not be ready to open this fire before the third of January ; but the batteries already constructed continued theirs. On the 26th, Admiral Stevens in the Norfolk, with three other ships of the line and the Protector fire-ship, returned into the road from Trincomaly.

The French troops assembled at Thiagar were so much superior to the little forts around, that they became the terror of the country, and their smallest parties brought in provisions in plenty, and without risque. Major Preston, having no longer any apprehensions that the troops at Gingee would either be able to push any convoys through the circumvallation of the English army, or even to distress the posts under the protection of Captain Fletcher at Ratlagrammon, resolved, by cutting off the daily supplies of Thiagar, to oblige the troops there to employ large escorts, which he hoped to intercept. He marched from Rashivandum on the 1st of December, and encamped in the evening three miles to the n. w. of Thiagar. On the night of the 3d, all the French cavalry, amounting to 200, led by Major Allen, an officer of Mr. Lally's regiment, pushed out of the pettah, and went to the west of Trinomalee. Being sure of provisions abroad, they intended to remain in the hills, waiting the event of the negociation, which Mr. Lally was carrying on with the Morattoe Vizvazipunt, whose troops, if it succeeded, they intended to accompany to Pondicherry. A few

1760 days afterwards, they were joined by a party of 100 European ~~December~~ infantry, whom, to alleviate the consumption of provisions, Mr. Lally had sent out of Pondicherry in the two vessels which sailed on the 2d and 3d of the month, and escaped to Tranquebar; from whence, headed by the bishop of Hallicarnassus, they marched to escort him to the camp of Vizvazipunt at Cudapanatam, with whom the bishop was empowered to conclude the negociation. They proceeded to Combaconum, by the same road as the Nabob and Major Joseph Smith had come to Karical, and received no molestation in their journey through the country of Tanjore. From Combaconum, they crossed the Coleroon, and then passed between Volcondah and Thiagar, out of the reach of Preston's troops; but 10 or 12 of them deserted, and travelled to Tritchinopoly, where they offered to serve, but were not enlisted; because Captain Smith had at this time discovered a conspiracy of the French prisoners to rise and overpower the garrison; in which the number of Europeans did not exceed 100, and most of them were invalids or foreigners; whereas the prisoners were 500; being the collection of all that had been taken at Karical, Chillambrum, and Verdachilum, by Colonel Monson, and in the different actions at Seringham and its districts, by the two Smiths from Tritchinopoly.

The King of Mysore, not thoroughly convinced that his protestations of good-will to the English would induce them to restore Caroor, sent a large body of troops to the confines of its territory, in order to second the terms of his negociation by the appearance of renewing hostilities, if not accommodated; and other troops proceeded to reinforce those at Dindigul; from whence the governor on their arrival marched, with 1000 horse, 2000 Sepoys, as many common peons, and some cannon, against Agarpatty, the nearest and last of the forts, which the troops of Madura had taken, but having left it only 40 Sepoys, it surrendered on the 4th day of the attack. From hence the Mysoreans marched against Narasingapore, another of the forts, six miles farther, which they likewise battered for four days, when they were attacked themselves by a strong body detached from Madura.

Madura, who beat them off the ground, and drove them back to 1760 Dindigul, with the loss of 50 men killed and wounded. The ~~colleries~~ ^{December} of Nattam, encouraged by this renewal of hostilities, made incursions into the northern districts of Madura, and stopped the whole road of the pass with trees, which they felled on either side, and with much labour dragged and laid them across the road with so much contrivance, that a single person could not pass without continual difficulty.

No events of great importance had happened during the course of this year, in the country of Tinivelly. The commandant, Mahomed Issoof, after the repulse before Washincole in the end of the preceding year, was from the want of battering cannon, no longer in a condition to attack the stronger holds of the polygars ; and contented himself, until supplied, with posting the greatest part of his army in stations to check the Pulitaver and the eastern polygars ; but remained himself with the rest at Tinivelly, watching Cata**bo**minaigue and the Western. The departure of Maphuze Khan from Nel-litangaville in the month of January, left the Pulitaver and his allies no longer the pretext of opposing the authority of the Nabob in support of the rights of his elder brother ; and they debated whether they should treat with Mahomed Issoof, or wait the event of Maphuze Khan's journey, who they supposed would return to them, if not received on his own terms by the Nabob. In this uncertainty, they formed no vigorous designs, and employed their colleries in night robberies, wherever they could elude the stations of Mahomed Issoof ; but attempted nothing in the open field or day. Nevertheless, their depredations were so ruinous to the cultivation, that Mahomed Issoof thought it worth the expence, to draw off some of their dependants and entertain them in the Company's service, as best able to retaliate the same mischief on those by whom they had been employed. and towards the end of April, several of these petty leaders, with their followers, amounting in the whole to 2000 colleries, joined him at Tinivelly, and faithfully entered on the duties for which they had engaged. Nothing, however, like regular fighting happened until the end of May, when Cata**bo**minaigue appeared at the head of two or three thousand men, near

Etia-

1760 Etiaporum, and stood the attack of seven companies of Sepoys, drawn from the limits towards Nellitangaville, by whom they were dispersed, but with little loss. In May Mahomed Issoof received intelligence of the hostilities commenced by the Mysoreans from Dindigul, and the orders of the Presidency to oppose them ; in consequence of which he sent the detachment we have mentioned of 1500 Sepoys, 300 horse, and 3000 peons. They were scarcely gone, when a new and unexpected alarm arose in the Tinivelly country. The Dutch government at the island of Ceylon had received a large reinforcement of European troops from Batavia, which assembled at the port of Columbo, opposite to Cape Comorin, from whence a part of them arrived in the beginning of June at Tutacorin, a Dutch fort on the continent, 40 miles east of Tinivelly. Two hundred Europeans, with equipments, tents, and field-pieces, immediately encamped, giving out that they should shortly be reinforced by more than their own number, and that 400 other Europeans had left Batavia at the same time with themselves, and were gone to Cochin on the Malabar coast, in order to join the king of Travancore. The natives were frightened, and pretended to have discovered, that the force they saw was intended to assist the polygars in driving the English out of the country of Tinivelly, and to begin by attacking the town. Mahomed Issoof immediately sent to the Dutch chief at Tutacorin, to demand an explanation ; who answered, that he should give none. A few days after the troops advanced inland, and halted at Alvar Tinivelly, a town in a very fertile district, situated 20 miles s. E of Tinivelly, and the same distance s. w. of Tutacorin ; and at the same time, another body of 200 Europeans landed from Columbo at Manapar, 20 miles to the s. E. of Alwar Tinivelly. Mahomed Issoof had previously drawn troops from the eastern stations, and marching with 4000 Sepoys, and some horse, appeared in sight of the Dutch troops at Alavar Trinevelly in the evening of the 18th of June ; who, in the ensuing night, decamped in strict silence, and marched back to Tutacorin ; those at Manapar went away thither likewise in the same embarkations which brought them ; and no more was heard of this alarm.

The

The depredations of the Polygars continued ; but, deprived of 1760 Maphuze Khan, and hearing how closely Pondicherry was invested, December they ventured nothing more : the Pulitaver's colleries were as usual the most active in the robberies ; and to repress them, Mahomed Issoof again stationed the greatest part of his force towards Nellitangaville, which in December encamped at the foot of the hills within three miles of this place, and Mahomed Issoof joined them from Tinivelly on the 12th ; he had purchased several eighteen-pounders at Tutacorin, and had the two mortars sent to him the year before from Anjengo, but no shot or shells for either, and was moreover in want of gun-powder and flints, all which he expected from Tritchinopoly, and, whilst waiting for them, made such preparations as the country afforded to attack Nellitangaville in form. On the 20th of the month, the colleries, with the Pulitaver at their head, attacked his camp, sallying, as usual, on all quarters at once, and persisted until 100 of them fell ; but they killed ten of Mahomed Issoof's men, and wounded seventy, and some horses.

At this time the Mysoreans on the frontiers of Caroor, although professing peace, and disavowing the operations of the governor of Dindigul, did not prohibit their own horse from foraging in the districts, of which they had consented that the English should collect the revenue until the Presidency and their king had agreed concerning the restitution of the fort. The crop on the ground was plentiful and ready to be cut ; and as the renewal of hostilities would only aggravate the evil they meant to revenge, Captain Richard Smith resolved to remain quiet until the harvest was gathered. Such was the state of the southern countries at the end of the year.

The consumption of provisions in Pondicherry had ever since the month of August exceeded the supplies received. In November, when the black inhabitants were turned out, the soldiery were put to an allowance of a pound of rice a day, with a little meat at intervals. In the beginning of December, Mr. Lally caused a strict search to be made in all the houses of individuals, and what could be found

1760 found in them was brought to the citadel, from whence they were
~~December~~ distributed equally to the military and inhabitants. Two colonels
lately arrived from France, men of family, deemed the search in
their apartments an affront, and sent word to Mr. Lally, that they
would no longer act as officers; but on every occasion as Volun-
teers. But the event justified the severity; for by the end of De-
cember, notwithstanding some supply from the sea, the public stock
did not exceed the consumption of three days; and Mr. Lally,
guided by certain information, determined another search; on
which father Lavaur, the superior of the Jesuits, who knew all
the secrets of the town, prevailed on him to defer it, promising to
produce a sufficiency for fifteen days more, but gave no expectation
of further supply; but the French agents with Vizvazypunt sent
hopes of succeeding in their negociation; and on the last day of
the year intelligence was received in the English camp, and some-
what credited, that a large body of Morattoes, with all the French
horse, were arrived from Cudapanatam at Trinomalee, and were
going to Thiagar, from whence they intended, at all events, to
push with provisions to Pondicherry.

The rains had ceased for some days, and the weather was re-
stored to its usual temperance; the sky bright, although the winds
sometimes strong, which always, at this season, blow from the north,
and near the coast in the day from the sea, and at night from the
land: but on the 30th of December, although the weather con-
tinued fair, a large swell came from the s. E. and the surf beat so
hollow and heavy, that no boats could pass; which increased in the
night. The next morning the wind freshened, and the sky was
close and dusky, but without that wild irregularity which prognosti-
cates a storm; and this aspect did not change till noon, nor the wind
encrease until eight at night. There were in the road eight sail of
the line, two frigates, the fire-ship, and the ship with stores from
Madras, in all 12 sail. From eight o'clock the wind blew in squalls,
every one stronger than the last, until 10, when the Admiral's ship,
Norfolk, cut her cable, and fired the signal for the other ships to
do

do so too; but the signal guns were not heard, and the ships, 1761 in obedience to the discipline of the navy, rode until their cables parted with the strain, when they with much difficulty got before the wind, none able to set more than a single sail, and none without splitting several. Every minute increased the storm until twelve, by which time the wind had veered from the N. W. where it began, to the N. E.: when it suddenly fell stark calm with thick haze all round. In a few minutes the wind flew up from the south-east, and came at once in full strength with much greater fury than it had blown from the other quarter.

By the delay of not getting early under sail whilst the storm was from the north, most of the ships lost the opportunity of gaining sufficient sea-room before it came on from the south-east. The first gust of this wind laid the Panther on her beams, and the sea breaking over her, Captain Affleck cut away the mizen; and this not answering, the main-mast likewise, which broke below the upper deck, tore it up, and continued some time encumbering over the side of the ship without going clear off into the sea, until the shock of a wave sent it away. The ship then righted, the reefed foresail stood, and brought her back into fourteen fathom water, when she dropped the sheet anchor; but not bringing up, which means turning to ride with her head to the anchor, they cut away the fore-mast, which carried away the bowsprit, when the ship came round; and thus rode out the storm. The America, Medway, and Falmouth, cutting away all their masts on the different necessities with the same prudence, rode it out likewise, after they had anchored again nearly in the same soundings as the Panther.

The Newcastle, the Queenborough frigate, and the Protector fire-ship, returning with the S. E. storm, mistook their soundings, and drove towards the shore, without knowing where they were, or attempting to anchor. The roaring of the surf was not to be distinguished in the general tumult of the elements; and the danger was not discovered until it was too late, and the three ships came ashore about two miles to the south of Pondi-

1761 cherry ; but only seven in all the crews perished, who were knocked overboard by the shock of striking aground.

^{January.} The Duke of Aquitain, the Sunderland, and the Duke storeship, unfortunately preserved all their masts through both the storms, until they were driven back to the necessity of anchoring ; and in bringing up with them standing, all the three either broached to, or overset, and went to the bottom. Eleven hundred Europeans perished in these ships ; only seven, and seven lascars, were saved out of the crews, who were picked up the next day, floating on pieces of wreck.

The difference of the element prevented the destruction from being equal at land ; but the ravage in proportion was not less. All the tents and temporary caserns of the camp on the Red-hill, and its out-posts, were blown to pieces. The ammunition abroad for immediate service was ruined. Nothing remained undamaged that was not under the shelter of masonry, either at the redoubts of the bound-hedge, in the buildings at Oulgarrey, or in the fort of Villenore, where the main stock of gun-powder was deposited. The soldiers, unable to carry off their muskets, and resist the storm, had left them to the ground, and were driven to seek shelter for their own persons wheresoever it was to be found. Many of the black attendants of the camp, from the natural feebleness of their constitution, perished by the inclemency of the hour. The sea had every where broken over the beach, and overflowed the country as far as the bound-hedge : and all the batteries and redoubts which the army had raised were intirely ruined. But these detriments might be repaired. The great anxiety remained for the other ships of the squadron, whose fortune was not yet known.

The town of Pondicherry beheld the storm and its effects as a deliverance sent from heaven. The sun rose clear, and shewed the havock spread around. It was proposed by some to march out immediately, and attack the English army ; but this operation was impracticable ; because no artillery could move through the inundation nor could the troops carry their own ammunition dry ; otherwise three hundred men, properly armed, would not, for

three

three hours after day-light, have met with 100 together in a condition to resist them. The wish of every one then turned to expectation that the ships from Madagascar might arrive in the interval before the English ships in the road were repaired, or others joined them from the sea : but the excellence of the opportunity did not alter Mr. Lally's mistrust of the resource ; and letters were immediately dispatched to the agents at Puliacate, Tranquebar, and Negapatam, ordering them to send away provisions with instant expedition, at every risque, on any kind of embarkation.

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January.

The anxiety for the missing ships continued until sun-set of the next day, when the Norfolk with Admiral Steven's flag was discovered in the offing. The ship, prepared at all points, before the south-east storm arose, scudded before it with a stay-sail, without losing a mast, and without being obliged to anchor until the wind fell, when in the morning they discovered Sadrass. The apprehension of more bad weather made the Admiral put out again to sea ; when he met the Liverpool, entirely dismasted. This ship, having parted her cable, and got under sail before the others, had gained more sea-room than any of them ; but the south-east storm had carried away all her masts ; soon after they were joined by the Grafton, who gave the welcome information that she had left, on the 28th of December, the Lenox, Admiral Cornish, with the York, and Weymouth, 30 leagues off the land : they were all returning together from Trincomaly : the Grafton, after parting with them, met hard weather during the hours in which the storm was raging near the coast. The Admiral, leaving her to take care of the Liverpool, anchored in the road of Pondicherry the next morning, and they in the afternoon. The other three ships came in the next day. On the 7th came in the Salisbury, with the prize la Compagnie des Indes, likewise from Trincomaly, and the Tyger from Madrass, where the violence of the storm had not reached. No more were to be expected ; for the Elizabeth and the Southsea-castle, wanting the dock, were sailed for Bombay, with the two other prizes, the Hermione and Baleine. But by this time, the four dismasted ships, although not quite refitted, were again in a condition to

1761 ^{January.} act on necessity ; and thus in a week after the storm, which had raised such hopes of deliverance in the garrison of Pondicherry, they saw their road again blockaded by eleven sail of the line, and although three of them were only of 50 guns, all were manned above their complements by the addition of the crews which had been saved from the three stranded ships. Their boats continually cruizing, intercepted, or drove away whatsoever embarkations came towards the road with provisions ; but several boats which were launched from the town in the three nights immediately after the storm, favoured by the wind, the current, and the darkness, escaped to the southward. In one of them Mr. Lally sent away Rajahsahib, the son of Chundasahib, who, ever since the defeat of Vandiwash, had resided with his family in Pondicherry ; he landed at Negapatam, and from thence passed to Ceylon in the character of an elephant-merchant.

Every diligence was exerted to restore the works and stations of the army to the condition from which they had been dismantled by the storm. Reports of the Morattoes continued, and the advantages of the present opportunity increased the apprehensions of their attempts to throw provisions into the town. The bound-hedge and its redoubts remained as before a sufficient defence as far as they extended ; but the south side of the blockade along the river of Ariancopang was laid open by the ruin of the two batteries on the coco-nut and sand island, and of the star redoubt on the spit of sand over against the bar, which could not be restored in ten days ; and the torrent of the river prevented the immediate transport of men and materials to set about the work. Colonel Coote therefore determined, as soon as the river subsided, to surprize St. Thoma's redoubt, which, whilst it remained as at present without opposition on the other shore, would protect the passage of what convoys the garrison might expect ; but if taken, would preclude their approach even more efficaciously than the posts on this side the blockade which the storm had ruined. The waters fell sufficiently on the 5th, and the detachment intended for the attack, having previously assembled at the Ariancopang redoubt, which stood above at the extremity of

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the bound-hedge, and on the same side of the river, marched down 1761 after it was dark under the bank, which was steep and skirted by a ~~January.~~ sand. The redoubt stood at the opening, but on the farther side, of a channel, which strikes to the north from the main body of the river, and carries water into the ditches of the town. A French officer, with three troopers of his nation, who had taken service in the English army, crossed first, whilst Colonel Coote himself, with the rest of the detachment, halted on the nether side of the channel. The officer was challenged, and answered that he came from the town with a party, which Mr. Lally had sent off in haste, on intelligence that the English intended to attack the redoubt this very night. He was believed, and admitted ; and Colonel Coote hearing no bustle or firing, immediately sent over the front of his party, who, as soon as their numbers were sufficient, declared themselves, and threatened to put the whole guard to death, if a single man made the least noise, or attempted to escape. All obeyed, excepting one Cafire, who stole away unperceived. They consisted of a serjeant, five gunners, five Caffres, and some Sepoys. The chief engineer, Mr. Call, followed with the pioneer company of 50 Europeans, and 100 Lascars, carrying gabions, fascines, and tools, with which they immediately set to work to close and ratrench the gorge ; over which it was intended when necessary to turn the guns against the town. At one in the morning blue lights appeared over the ramparts along the south front, as if the garrison apprehended some attack on their walls. Soon after they began to fire single shot upon the redoubt, which came with such good aim, that the party at work threw the guns out of their carriages on the ground, to preserve them. At two, every thing was quiet in the town, and the work forward, when Colonel Coote went away to get rest at his head quarters at Oulgarry, leaving a Lieutenant of artillery, with the 40 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, in the redoubt, which the officer was ordered to defend to the last extremity. The workmen had finished, and were withdrawn at four o'clock. At five, the redoubt was attacked by the four companies of grenadiers from the garrison : they assaulted on every side

1761 side at once, few fired, and all pushed with fixed bayonets through
^{January.} the ditch over the parapet. The resistance was not equal either to the strength of the post, for it was closed on all sides; or to the number of the guard, which were, including the Sepoys, 170 men. Some escaped by jumping over the parapet; a few were killed, and the greatest part, with the officer, surrendered themselves prisoners. At noon, Mr. Lally sent back all who had been taken, to the English camp, for want of provisions to feed them; but on condition, that they should not act again. This discovery of the distress of the garrison could only be required or warranted by the utmost necessity. However, Mr. Lally might suppose, that the prisoners had not time to learn the worst of what the town was enduring, and that they could not tell so much as deserters.

On the failure of this attempt, a large portion of the working parties was allotted to complete the redoubt on the spit of sand, which was to replace that which had been washed away. It was raised for the advantage of higher ground, three hundred yards in the rear of the former; its scale sufficient to contain 400 men, and to mount 16 guns in different directions. Equal attention was given to repair and complete the Hanover battery, where, from the lowness of the situation, much labour was requisite to clear the water, which had filled the trench that communicated with it from some inclines in the rear. The only fire from the town was to interrupt the workmen here, but with little effect. On the 7th, the Company's ship Falmouth arrived from Madrass, laden with battering cannon, ammunition, and stores, to replace what had foundered in the Duke: and on the 9th another ship brought Mr. Pigot the governor, with Mr. Dupré, one of the council, and captain Robert Barker, who had been to Madrass to superintend the embarkation of the stores and artillery, which Captain Hislop and he were now to direct against the town.

At this time the Nabob received intelligence that his agents had concluded a negotiation with the Morattoo general Vizvazypunt Allen, and the bishop of Halicarnassus, had added the offer of Thiagar to

to Gingee, and the payment of 500,000 rupees for their assistance, 1761 and proffered substantial shroffs as security ; how this wary tribe of money-changers were induced to this venture, when there was not so much in Pondicherry, nor likely to come, remains unaccountable. Either Vizvazipunt himself must have encouraged them to stand forth in appearance, that he might obtain the highest terms from the Nabob ; or some secret enemy of the Nabob, who was to gain advantage by the march of the Morattoes into the Carnatic, and the suprt of Pondicherry, must have proved to the shroffs the certainty of producing the money before the payment should fall upon their security ; in this case we see no one but Hyderally to conjecture. The Nabob's agents were so perplexed by the fact, that they rose by degrees from the same sum of 500,000 rupees with which they had began, and concluded for two millions, of which one was to be paid in 20 days, and the other in nine months ; on which Vizvazipunt told the French representatives, that they had no assistance to expect from him ; and Allen and the Bishop went away with their troops, who were 200 Europeans mounted, and 100 on foot, to Hyderally in Bengalore, which is five days from Cudapanatam. The Nabob, on this important occasion, as indeed on all others ever since he was convinced of the probability of taking Pondicherry, enlarged himself with more decision and spirit than he had ever exerted since his government, and first connexion with the English nation ; and as the smallest undissembled excesses of the mind tell more than the whole composure of political reason, he never failed to ask Colonel Coote every day, whether he was sure, and when, Pondicherry would surrender. Advices were at the same time received from Captain Preston, that he had attacked the pettah of Thiagar, which stands on the plain, and after some resistance carried both the mud-walls ; on which the French troops who defended it ran to the rock, and saved themselves in the fortifications above, which could only be assaulted by surprize, or reduced by famine or bombardment : he had already begun to throw shells from two howitzers, and was waiting

January.

1761 ing for mortars from Madrass. These advices removed any farther apprehensions of succours getting into Pondicherry from the land.

January. By the morning of the 10th, the Hanover battery was completed; but before it opened, Colonel Coote, with several officers, advanced from the Villenore redoubt, to reconnoitre the bastions of the town. As they were standing about 800 yards from the walls, a flag appeared approaching. Colonel Coote sent forward his aid-de-camp lieutenant Duespe, (not the officer we have mentioned at Vandivash) to receive his message or letters. Two other officers accompanied Duespe and went on in the avenue leading from the Villenore redoubt to the glacis, until they were challenged by the sentries, and ordered to retire; but not obeying, a shot was fired from a six-pounder on the Villenore gate, which missed them, but unfortunately struck and killed Duespe, as he was talking to the messenger. Colonel Coote sent to demand satisfaction for the outrage, supposing it unprovoked. Mr. Lally confined the officers on duty at the gate, and the next day sent his aid-de-camp to explain the mischance, for which he expressed much concern.

A few hours after Duespe was killed, the Hanover battery opened with ten guns, six were twenty-four, and four eighteen-pounders, and with three mortars, two of thirteen and one of ten inches. The six guns on the left fired upon the west face of the n. w. bastion, and of the counter-guard before it. The two next upon the next bastion on the left, which was small, and mounted only three guns: it was called St. Joseph. The two other guns on the right battered the two projecting towers standing on each side of the Valdore gate, which had a good ravelin in front between them. The mortars fired variously. The fire of the cannon ceased in three hours, but the mortars continued at intervals throughout the day. The garrison returned very sparingly. The next day, the 11th, the battery, having been damaged by its own use, fired less, and the town more, with the addition of shells from two mortars in the Valdore ravelin, which several times fell in and near the Hanover battery; which nevertheless opened again the next morning quite repaired, and with great

great vivacity; but the enemy neither in this nor the preceding 1761 night had given any repair to the n. w. bastion, and its counter-guard; which, in consequence of this neglect, had very little fire to return, nor did much come from the bastion of St. Joseph, or the works of the Valdore gate. Many deserters came over in these two nights, and their accounts agreed of the dismal distress of the garrison. The English army, on the contrary, received the confirmation of a report, that more forces from England (sent by the same spirit as the others) were arrived at Anjengo, on the coast of Malabar. Six hundred men, the remainder of the Highland regiment, had embarked in the month of May in five of the company's ships and two men of war of the line. Three of the company's and one of the men of war arrived at Anjengo on the 15th of December, and the others were daily expected there.

The redoubt on the spit of sand to the south was completed by the night of the 12th, and the workmen and tools recalled, to serve at the opening of the trenches, for which all the materials were by this time collected. The Hanover battery fired little through the 13th, and received only a few shells. In the beginning of the night, all appointed for the trenches were assembled at the bleaching town. They were 700 Europeans draughted from the rank and file, 400 lascars, the pioneer company of 70 Europeans, and 200 coolies: there were likewise 400 oxen, with their drivers, one to three. The ground was opened, under cover, just within the skirt of the bleaching town, in the part nearest the beach. After three short returns, the trench was brought to the outside of the houses, and from hence pushed on obliquely in one straight line, until it passed cross the high road leading from the Madrass gate, on the other side of which road, the intended battery was to be erected. This oblique trench was 480 yards long, and from its termination was continued another of 280 yards, parallel to the defences of the town. Two short trenches continued, one from each end of this parallel, and fell in with the two ends of the intended battery, which was to be constructed 40 yards in front; and the parallel in the rear was to be the station of the main guard for VOL. II.

1761 the support of the battery, if attacked. All this work, comprehending 800 yards, sheltered on the left by gabions, fascines, and sand-bags, was executed by the European soldiery, divided into companies, all working at the same time according to the trace, on the different ground allotted to each division ; whilst the 400 lascars, and the 200 coolies, were employed in bringing the materials, not only to them, but to the battery, where the pioneers were at work, as requiring more knowledge and exactness ; who before morning had finished six embrasures in the battery ; to which, likewise, the oxen had brought the cannon from the artillery-park, which had been formed near the sea-shore, just without the bound-hedge. It was scarcely possible for the same number of hands to have done more work in the same time. Colonel Coote, and the principal officers, passed the night in the trenches, and were accompanied by Mr. Pigot and Mr. Dupré. The town, to their great surprize, although blue lights often appeared on the walls, did not fire a single shot to interrupt the work. Care had been taken to lessen the usual noise, by not driving the picquets of the gabions into the earth with the entrenching tools ; nevertheless, so many persons continually busy, the sound of the carriages and oxen, and the call of their drivers could scarcely remain unheard ; as the battery was within 450 yards of the walls. Just before day-light all the workmen were withdrawn, and 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, were posted in the parallel, and another party of the same number in the cover of the village at the tail of the trenches, in order to support the foremost guard. The embrasures that were finished were left masked ; because there had not been time to lay down the platforms for the guns. Nevertheless, it was expected, that the garrison would fire hotly the ensuing day, were it only to damage the parapet of the battery.

They were doubtless astonished at the work they saw done ; but only fired now and then, and only single shot at a time ; observing which, the chief engineer sent carpenters, who laid down the platforms, without receiving any hurt. The Hanover battery fired throughout the day, with all its artillery and redoubled vivacity, which

which before night silenced all the guns against which it opened ; 1761 on the N. W. bastion and its counter-guard, on St. Joseph's, on the ^{January.} two demi-bastions, and on the ravelin of the Valdore gate.

At night the pioneers, with 300 Lascars, went to work again at the royal battery ; and the town, having well marked the aim, kept up a smart fire of shot, grape, and musketry, which killed or dangerously wounded twelve men in the battery. Several showers of rain fell in the night, which gave apprehension that the enemy would sally ; but they refrained, and before day-light the battery was completed. It was called the royal, and contained 11 twenty-four pounders, and on the left three heavy mortars. It opened early in the morning, and, seconded by the cross and enfilading fire of the Hanover battery with 10 guns, soon silenced all the defences which bore upon it ; excepting a gun or two on the bastion next the beach. Inactivity joined necessity in this unaccountable abandonment of defence ; which was so great, that, what rarely happens until all commanding works are entirely demolished, men were set, and continued at work throughout the day, along the whole line of the trenches, fixing more securely the gabions, ramming down the earth, and smoothing the tops of the parapet, that the troops, if sallied upon in the ensuing night, might fire over them with certainty and safety. A party was draughted to begin, as soon as it was dark, another battery of six guns, 300 yards nearer to the beach, and 150 nearer the walls : it was intended to destroy the flanks of the several bastions, which the royal battery could only take in reverse.

As the sun was setting, Colonel Coote coming, as was his custom, to supervise the batteries, saw a flag advancing in the Villenore avenue ; who, being challenged, announced the approach of a deputation. They came on foot, the town having neither horses or palankin bearers to carry them, and Colonel Coote received them at his head-quarters at Oulgarry. The deputies were Colonel Durre, commandant of the king's artillery, father Lavaur, superior of the Jesuits, Moracin and Courtin, members of the council, with Tobin serving as interpreter.

1761 Colonel Durre delivered a memorial signed by Mr. Lally of the
 January. following purport : " That the English had taken Chandernagore
 " against the faith of the treaties of neutrality which had always
 " subsisted between the European nations in Bengal, and especially
 " between the English and French ; and this at a time, when that
 " settlement had just rendered the English the most signal services,
 " as well by refusing to join the Nabob Surajah Dowlah in the
 " attack of Calcutta, as by receiving and succouring the inhabi-
 " tants of this colony, after their defeat and dispersion ; by which
 " protection they were enabled to remain in the province, and by
 " this continuance to recover their settlements ; as Mr. Pigot had
 " acknowledged in a letter to the government of Pondicherry.—"
 That " the government of Madrass had refused to fulfil the con-
 " ditions of a cartel concluded between the two crowns, although
 " Mr. Pigot had at first accepted the cartel, and commissioners had
 " been appointed on both sides to meet at Sadrass, in order to settle
 " amicably, whatsoever difficulties might occur in the execution.—"
 " This conduct of the English (Mr. Lally goes on) puts it out of
 " his power, as responsible to the court of France, to propose any
 " capitulation for the city of Pondicherry."—" The troops of the
 " king and company surrender themselves, for want of provi-
 " sions, prisoners of war to his Britannic Majesty, conformably
 " to the terms of the cartel, which Mr. Lally claims for the
 " civil inhabitants and citizens, and for the exercise of the Ro-
 " man religion, the religious houses, hospitals, chaplains, surgeons,
 " domesticks, &c. referring to the two courts to decide a propor-
 " tional reparation for the violations of treaties so solemnly esta-
 " blished."—" In consequence, Mr. Coote may to-morrow morn-
 " ing at eight o'clock take possession of the Vallenore gate, and on
 " the same hour the next day, of the gates of the citadel (Fort Louis) ;
 " and as he has the force in his own hands, he may dictate such far-
 " ther dispositions as he may think proper."—" From a principle of
 " justice and humanity alone I demand (these are Mr. Lally's words)
 " that the mother and sisters of Rajahsaheb be permitted to seek an
 " asylum wheresoever they shall think proper, or that they re-
 " main

“ main prisoners with the English, and be not delivered into the 1761
“ hands of Mahomed Ally Cawn, still tinged with the blood of the January.
“ father and husband, which he shed, to the shame indeed of those
“ who delivered up Chundasaheb to him, but to the shame likewise
“ of the commander of the English army, who ought not to have suf-
“ fered such a barbarity to have been committed in his camp.”—
“ Being himself confined by the cartel in the declaration which he
“ is now making to Mr. Coote, Mr. Lally consents that the mem-
“ bers of the council of Pondicherry make their own representations,
“ on what may more immediately concern their particular interests,
“ and those of the colony.”

Father Lavaur and the other deputies presented another memorial, from the governor and council of Pondicherry. “ That no hurt should be done to the inhabitants; their houses be preserved, their effects and mercantile goods left to their own disposal: that all who chose might remain in their habitations, and were to be considered as British subjects, and enjoy their former possessions and advantages. In their favour the Roman Catholic religion was to be maintained; the churches, the houses of the ecclesiastics, and the religious orders, whether within or without the city, to be preserved with every thing belonging to them; the missionaries free to go and come, and receive under the English flag the same protection as they had under the French.” “ No buildings or edifices, and no part of the fortifications, were to be demolished, until the decision of the respective sovereigns.”—“ The records in the register-office, on which the fortunes of individuals depend, were to remain under the care of the present depositaries, and be sent to France, at their discretion.”—“ Not only the inhabitants who were French, but of whatsoever other nation established at Pondicherry for their commerce, were to participate of these conditions.”—“ The natives of Bourbon and Mauritius, in number 41, having served only as volunteers, to return home by the first opportunity.”—“ Safeguards were to be

1761 "be furnished to prevent disorders." "And all these conditions
 January, "were to be executed with good faith."

Colonel Coote, in answer to Mr. Lally's memorial, said, that "the particulars of the capture of Chandernagore were before his Britannic Majesty, which precluded any discussion on this subject, neither had it any relation to the surrender of Pondicherry." "That the dispute concerning the cartel remaining undecided, precluded his consent that the troops in Pondicherry should be deemed prisoners on the terms of that cartel; but that they must surrender prisoners of war, to be treated at his discretion, which should not be deficient in humanity." "That the gates of the town and citadel should be taken possession of by the English troops at the hours proposed by Mr. Lally." "That the mother and sisters of Rajahsaheb, should be escorted to Madrass, where proper care should be taken for their safety, and that they should not on any account be delivered into the hands of the Nabob Mahomedally." To the other deputies Colonel Coote only said, that their propositions were answered in his answer to Mr. Lally: they returned into the town at midnight.

The next morning, it was the 16th of January, the grenadiers of Coote's regiment marched from the camp, and took possession of the Villenore gate. Colonel Coote dined with Mr. Lally; who, apprehensive of tumult or disorders, consented that the citadel should be delivered up in the evening, that the soldiers might be put under confinement before night. Accordingly more troops marched in from the camp; and in the afternoon the garrison drew up under arms on the parade before the citadel, and the English troops facing them; Colonel Coote then reviewed the line, which, exclusive of commissioned officers, invalids, and others who had hid themselves, amounted to 1100, all wearing the face of famine, fatigue, or disease. The grenadiers of Lorrain and Lally, once the ablest bodied men in the army, appeared the most impaired, having constantly put themselves forward to every service; and it was recollected, that from their first landing,

landing, throughout all the services of the field, and all the distresses of the blockade, not a man of them had ever deserted to the English colours. The victor soldier gave his sigh (which none but banditti could refuse) to this solemn contemplation of the fate of war, which might have been his own. The French troops, after they were reviewed, marched into the citadel, where they deposited their arms in heaps, and were then conducted to their prisons.

The next morning the English flag was hoisted in the town, and its display was received by the salute of a thousand pieces of cannon, from every gun of every ship in the road, in all the English posts and batteries, the field-artillery of the line, and on the ramparts and defences of Pondicherry.

The surrender was inevitable, for at the scanty rate of the wretched provisions, to which the garrison had for some time been reduced, there did not remain sufficient to supply them two days more. Nevertheless the detestation against Mr. Lally, if possible, increased, as the sole author of the calamity, and, no longer restrained by his authority, broke out in the most vindictive expressions of menace and reproach. The third day after the surrender was appointed for his departure to Madrass. In the forenoon of this day a troop of officers, mostly of the French company's battalion, went up the steps of the government house, towards his apartments, where they were met by his aid de camp, whom they insulted ; and were dispersed by the guard, which came up on the quarrel. This troop then assembled and waited below at the gate of the citadel until one o'clock. Mr. Lally did not move until the close of the day ; his escort was 15 English hussars, and four troopers of his own guard ; he came out in his palankin, and at the gate were gathered a hundred persons, mostly officers, with them the counsellors Moracín and Courtin. As soon as Mr. Lally appeared, a hue was set up by the whole assembly, hisses, pointing, threats, and every abusive name ; but the escort prevented violence. Mr. Dubois, the King's commissary, who was to proceed with Mr. Lally, came out of the fort an hour after, but on foot ; the same assembly had continued on the parade, and showered the same abuses. Dubois stopped,

1761 stopt, and said he would answer any one. One Defer stopt out, they drew, and the second pass laid Dubois dead, who was 60 years of age, short-sighted, and always wore spectacles. No one would assist his servants to remove and bury the corpse ; and his death, violent and iniquitous as it was, was treated as a meritorious act : his papers were immediately taken possession of by the register. It was known, that he had, ever since his arrival at Pondicherry, composed protests on the part of the king against all the disorders and irregularities which came to his knowledge in any of the departments of the government, and the collection was very voluminous ; but none of his papers have ever appeared.

The total number of the European military taken in the town, including services attached to the troops, was 2072 ; the civil inhabitants were 381 ; the artillery fit for service were 500 pieces of cannon, and 100 mortars and howits. The ammunition, arms, weapons, and military stores, were in equal abundance.

On the 4th day after the surrender, Mr. Pigot demanded of Colonel Coote, that Pondicherry should be delivered over to the Presidency of Madrass, as having become the property of the English East India Company. A council of war, composed of the two admirals, and four post-captains of the squadron, Colonel Coote and three Majors of the king's troops, assembled to deliberate on this demand ; and required the authority on which it was made. Mr. Pigot insisted on the king's patent, dated the 14th of January 1758, which regulates the Company's share and title to captures. The council of war deemed the patent incompetent to the pretension. Mr. Pigot, as the shortest way, declared, that if Pondicherry were not delivered, the Presidency of Madrass would not furnish money either for the subsistence of the king's troops, or the French prisoners. This conclusion barred all farther argument, for neither the Admiral, nor the commander of the king's troops, were authorized to draw bills on the government, in England for such a contingency. The council of war, therefore, submitted to the requisition, but protested against the insult it conveyed against the King's prerogative, and declared the Presidency responsible for the consequences.

During

During this discussion, Colonel Coote detached eight companies of Sepoys, under the command of Captain Stephen Smith, to invest the forts of Gingee ; and a convoy of military stores were sent from the camp to Major Preston, who was continuing the blockade of Thiagar. 1761
January.

The Nabob requested and expected that the army, after the necessary repose, would accompany him aginst such chiefs and feudatories, whom he wished or had pretensions to call to account, either for contempts of his authority, or for tributes unsettled, or withheld. He had not forgiven the rebellion of his half-brother Nazeabulla of Nelore. His indignation had never ceased against Mortizally, the Kellidar of Velore, who, as well as the three greater Polygars to the north, and of Arielore, and Woriorepollam to the south, were suspected of hidden treasures ; still more the greater and lesser Mora-vars ; and the king of Tanjore, wealthier than all, scarcely considered the Nabob as his superior.

But the Presidency had other attentions to regard ; their treasury and credit was exhausted in the reduction of Pondicherry ; the care of 2500 French prisoners required strong guards and no little expence. Bengal was engaged in hostilities, wanted troops, and could send no money. Bombay had extended its military concerns by the acquisition of the castle of Surat in the beginning of the year 1759, which had induced the necessity of other important attentions in that part of the continent ; and they were at this time earnestly requesting the return of all the troops they had sent to Coromandel. The factory at Tellichery likewise advised, that they intended to stop the troops which were just arrived and expected in the ships from England, and waited only the orders of their superiors at Bombay to attack the French settlement at Mahé, in which service they requested what assistance could be spared from Coromandel. It was still uncertain what was become of the French squadron ; the English squadron wanted their marines, and were enjoined a secret service from England, in which Madrass was to assist. These views and considerations appeared to the Presidency of more immediate importance than the indulgence of the triumphal notions which swelled

1761 the mind of the Nabob, whose joy at the reduction of Pondicherry, January. although the arsenal which had forged all the anxieties of his life, was immediately imbibited by this interruption to the future conquests he had so near at heart : and, unwilling to continue in the Carnatic without the entire predominance of his authority, he retired as it were in disgust with victory to Tritchinopoly, where he arrived on the 15th of February.

February. Four hundred of the French prisoners were sent to Madrass, and the Highlanders, six companies, with some artillery-men, and four companies of Sepoys, marched thither to reinforce the garrison ; 200 were sent to Tritchinopoly under the escort of 100 Europeans, and some Sepoys. The rest of the prisoners remained in the dungeons of Pondicherry, until they could be otherwise disposed of ; and 300 Europeans, including the pioneer company, and 50 artillery-men, with the troop of European horse, and four companies of Sepoys, were appointed to garrison the town. The troops from Bombay, being 120 of the king's artillery, and 190 common infantry, belonging to that Presidency, embarked in two ships to return thither ; the marines were restored to the squadron ; the rest of the army went into cantonments at Cuddalore.

The court of France had instructed Mr. Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English nation in India, which might fall to their arms. These instructions had been intercepted ; and, in consequence of them, the court of Directors of the English East-India Company had ordered their Presidencies to retaliate the same measure on the French settlements, whenever in their power. Accordingly Mr. Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madrass, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry ; and as Mr. Stevens signified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay, in order to refit his squadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, lest a French armament should arrive during their absence, and recover the town, whilst the fortifications remained in a condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.

Mr. Stevens sailed on the 23d of February, with all the ships, eleven of the line, and two frigates. They took away 400 of the prisoners in

in Pondicherry, all of the regiments of Lorrain and Lally, to be confined at Bombay, or sent to Europe as opportunities should offer. ¹⁷⁶¹ As Mr. Stevens intended to aid, if necessary, in the attack of Mahé, ^{February.} the Presidency sent 50 of the company's artillery, and three of their engineers in the squadron.

Mahé is situated four miles to the south of Tellicherry. The fort and town stand not far from the beach of the sea, along the south side of a river, which admits small vessels. Several hills rise near the town, and on the two nearest on the same side of the river are built two small forts, and a much larger, called St. George, on a hill on the other side. The settlement presides over all belonging to the French company on this side of the peninsula, excepting their factory at Surat. These dependencies are five forts to the north of Tellicherry, and a factory house at Calicut.

The five ships from England had landed the troops at Tellicherry by the 5th of January; but from the length of the passage to and fro, the permission from Bombay to attack Mahé did not arrive before the beginning of February; and with it the Presidency sent one of their cruisers, and a bomb-ketch to assist; as none of the ships had been detained. The delay had given Mr. Louet, the governor of Mahé, time to make treaties for assistance with several of the neighbouring chiefs of the country, with whom the settlement had long been in commerce; and they promised and swore to assist efficaciously as against a common enemy. The aid was much wanted, for the European military, on whom the stress of the defence was to rest, did not exceed 100, and even they, from the general necessity of the French company's affairs, had not received their pay for several months, and missed no opportunity of deserting. The black troops belonging to the company, were a thousand.

The troops at Tellicherry marched out and encamped on the 8th of February on the limits of Mahé. Their numbers, for the garrison took the field, amounted to 900 Europeans, and 700 natives; they were commanded by major Hector Monro, who determined to direct his first attack against Fort St. George, on the hither side of the river.

1761 All the solicitations of Mr. Louet were of no avail, when his allies
February. saw the English troops taking the field, and were apprized of their numbers; they did not send a man; and before day-break the next morning, he dispatched a letter to Mr. Hedges, the chief of Tellicherry, proposing terms of capitulation, on which Major Monro was ordered not to commence hostilities. Agents sent to explain doubts and objections, continued going to and fro until the morning of the 13th, when the capitulation was signed. It was agreed, that all the European military should be transported at the expence of the English, either to the island of Bourbon, or to Europe, and when landed there, to be free. The effects, artillery, and military stores, belonging to the French company, were to be surrendered, but the effects and possessions of individuals were to be preserved to them entire, without molestation in the use. The free exercise of the Roman religion was to be permitted as before the surrender; the priests on no account were to be vexed, nor the churches or religious edifices impaired. The forts to the northward of Tellicherry were to be given up on the same conditions as Mahé, and the factory at Calicut was to continue unmolested under the usual neutrality of that town: ample honours of war were allowed to the garrison. Five hundred men under the command of Major Peers marched into Mahé at noon; and soon after, the garrison were escorted with their honours to Tellicherry. A detachment was then prepared under the command of Major Monro, to take in the forts to the northward, which it was suspected might dispute the terms of capitulation provided for them. The news of the surrender of Mahé arrived at Madrass on the 3d of March.

Captain Stephen Smith, as soon as encamped before Gingee, summoned Macgregor, the commanding officer, who answered, that if he had brought one hundred thousand men, the forts would not be reduced in three years. The troops encamped to the east opposite to the outward pettah on the plain, which, although it had a mud wall, was of much less defence than the inward town, which stands on higher ground, nearly in the center of the triangular valley, extending between the three mountains. The valley is

is enclosed on the three sides by a strong wall with towers of stone, 1761 which have a ditch before them, excepting in such parts where the ^{February.} rocks render it unnecessary ; but the wall continues up the mountains, and surrounds the three forts, connecting them with each other. Besides this exterior enclosure, the interior and higher defences run double round the two forts to the east ; and the great mountain to the west, which is the principal fortification, has four enclosures, one below another towards the town in the valley, but off different spaces and elevations ; and the highest is a steep rock in the north-west part of the third enclosure above the valley ; this far overtops all the mountains, and in the fort on its summit, although small, is a continual spring of water. The extent of wall in all fortifications measures more than 12000 yards ; to defend which the French had only 150 Europeans, topasses, or coffrees, 600 Sepoys, and 1000 natives of the adjoining hills, whom they called Colleries. But they supposed the forts on the mountains to be impregnable, and that the town below would not be attempted, because, if taken, the troops which were to maintain it, would be continually subject to the fire of the defences above.

The wall on the east side of the valley extends 1200 yards from the mountain of St. George on the right, to the English mountain on the left, and nearly in the middle passeth along the side of a heap of rocks on which the French had raised a work, which they called the royal battery ; under which on the right towards the mountain of St. George stood a gateway opposite to the outward pettah in the plain : but the pettah extended only from this mountain to the rocks of the battery.

Observation and deserters (of whom several came every day) apprized Captain Smith of the state of the garrison and defences, and that the garrison remained in perfect security as well in the town below, as in the forts above. On the night between the 2d and third of February, he marched from his camp with 600 Sepoys, in two divisions, of which the foremost, 200, carried a sufficient number of scaling ladders, and the others were to support when called for. They left the north wall of the pettah on the left, but passed through

1761 through the intervals of some houses, which adjoined to it and brought them opposite to the middle of that part of the wall of the valley which extends between the royal battery and the English mountain. They crossed the ditch, placed their ladders, and got over the wall unchallenged: the object was now to get possession of the gate on the other side of the royal battery; but the rocks on which it stood extended backwards to the first houses of the town, and it was necessary to go through the first street leading across, in order to pass beyond the rear of the rocks and gain an avenue of trees, which led down to the gateway: they proceeded even quite through the street unperceived; but, as they were coming down the avenue, were challenged and discovered by the guard of the gateway, who fired; which alarmed the other stations in the town, but with so much confusion, that Captain Smith gave no attention to it, but hastened to the gateway, from which he dispersed the guard at the push of bayonet, and opening the gate let in the other division of 400 Sepoys, who were halting not far off in the nearest shelter, and with them took possession of the royal battery. It was now three in the morning, and Smith waited for day light to drive the enemy out of the town, who retired before; some to St. George's, others to the English mountain, but most of them into the enclosure next the town towards the great mountain, where they continued firing from the adjacent rampart throughout the next day upon the guards which were advanced and stationed in the houses of the town and cannon from all the hills continually plunged down, wheresoever they saw or suspected any of the English troops; but with little effect. In the ensuing night the enemy's troops, who had retired to the second enclosure, left it, and retreated to the higher defences of the great mountain.

On intelligence of this success 1000 more Sepoys were sent to Smith, who as the town was very unhealthy, continued more than one half of his force in the encampment on the plain. The desertion continued, and amongst them came a very experienced Jemaytdar of the Sepoys, who proffered to lead a party by a path he knew to surprize the forts on St. George's mountain: he was trusted, and the

the next night 200 Sepoys marched under his guidance. We 1761 are not apprized of their track, but suppose they proceeded from the camp and went up on the outside of the mountain to the south, to the enclosure of the outward rock which is 80 feet higher than those beneath. They fixed their ladders, and got over the wall before they were discovered, and seized 8 Europeans, but the rest of the guard escaped to the enclosures below; where all continued very alert until day-light, when an officer came down to capitulate, and demanded very liberal terms; but captain Smith knowing that they were at any time in his power, by sending more men up to the rock above them, refused to accept the surrender, excepting at discretion; to which they consented. They were 42 Europeans, of whom six were officers, and 70 Sepoys. A large stock of provisions was found in the forts of this mountain, by which it was concluded, that those in the two others were equally as well provided; and no enquiry gave hopes that either of these fortresses could be taken by surprize, and still less by open attack. It therefore remained to try if time might produce the success which was not to be expected either from force or fortune.

The same day that the mountain of St. George surrendered to captain Smith, the important fortress of Thiagar capitulated to Major Preston, after a blockade and bombardment of 65 days, during which, above 40 Europeans had deserted to him from the rock, 20 had been killed or died, 25 lay wounded in the hospital, and 114 rank and file, with twelve officers, were in a condition to march, so that the whole number of Europeans which had been shut up were upwards of 200, with 300 Sepoys, and 100 Coffrees; they had provisions for two months longer; and the water, which gave the principal value to the fort, continued as usual in plenty, and of a good quality. Nevertheless, the commanding officer only stipulated that the garrison should receive the same treatment as the troops taken in Pondicherry; according to which the officers were to be sent to Europe upon parole, not to serve again during the present war, and the Europeans of rank and file were to be treated at discretion; and they were sent to be confined with those already in the prisons of

Tritch-

1761 Tritchinopoly ; but the Sepoys and Coffrees being excellent were taken into the Company's service.

February.

In the mean time, the detachment from Tellicherry was prosecuting the reduction of the dependencies of Mahé. The first is called Fort Delhi, situated on the strand of a promontory called Mount Delhi, which is a remarkable head-land ten miles to the north of Tellicherry ; four miles further on is the mouth of the river of Neliserum, which, descending from the mountains to the east, turns short many miles above, and continues parallel to the beach of the sea, from which it is now where a mile asunder ; a mile and a half up this river on the left hand, and on the mouth of another, stands Ramatilly, which is a small fort ; on the same side, five miles beyond, is the fort of Mattalavy, which stands strong on a rocky eminence : seven miles farther, on the N. side of the mouth of another river, is the fort of Neliserum, which is much larger ; and six miles up this river, to the east, and on its left shore, stands the fifth fort, which is small, and called Veramaly. Fort Delhi, Neliserum and Ramatilly were garrisoned by French troops, but the government of Mahé had delivered up the other two in pledge for debt to two chiefs of the country, who were determined not to part with them until compensated ; and as they equally commanded the rivers, which were the channels of traffick, the other three would be of no service, if the two continued in hostility. Delhi and Ramatilly surrendered on the first summons, but at Mattalavy were assembled a large body of Naires, whose bravery is always desperate. The two ships from Pondicherry, which were carrying back the Bombay troops, were at this time working up the coast of Malabar, and had passed beyond the river of Neliserum ; and Major Monroe, finding more resistance than he expected in his expedition, sent after them for artillery-men and cannon, which came, and two batteries were erected against Mattalavy : but the settlement of Tellicherry had in the mean time been negotiating with the two chiefs who were in possession of Mattalavy and Veramally, who consented to surrender them on condition of receiving an annual fine, which for both amounted to 3000 rupees. As soon as these forts

forts were delivered, the French garrison at Neliserum, which did not exceed 20 Europeans, submitted without resistance.

1761
April.

On the 5th of April, Captain Stephen Smith received a proposal from Captain Macgregor, who commanded in the great mountain of Gingee, that he would capitulate, if his garrison were allowed the honours of war, the rank and file to be sent to Europe by the first opportunity as prisoners liable to exchange, but the officers permitted to retire, with their arms, baggage and effects, to any of the neutral settlements on the coast, where they were to be subsisted according to their ranks at the expence of the English company, who were likewise to defray their passage to Europe. Three hundred of the English Sepoys had already died in the town, and in the mountain of St. George, from the peculiar inclemency of the air, which has always been deemd the most unhealthy in the Carnatic, insomuch that the French, who never until lately kept more than 100 Europeans here, had lost 1200 in the ten years during which it had been in their possession. Captain Smith, therefore, very readily accepted the terms, and in the afternoon the garrisons marched out of the two mountains. They were 12 officers, and 100 rank and file, Europeans, Coffrees, and Topasses, and 40 Lascars for the artillery, which were 30 pieces of cannon and some mortars. A passport and safeguard was allowed to a Moor of distinction, who had long resided in the great mountain.

This day terminated the long contested hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation avowed by the authority of its government in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Mysore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. In Bengal they had not a single agent or representative, and their factories at Surat and Calicut were mere trading houses on sufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of Delabourdonnais against Madrass in 1746, and had continued from that time with scarcely the intermission of one year, was retaliated the same measure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably pursued, by the French councils against the English commerce and power: for such, as is

1761 avowed in the French memoirs on the events we have related, was
the object of Delabourdonnais' expedition, of the whole government
and ambition of Dupleix, and of the great armament of naval and
land forces, which accompanied Mr. Lally to India, who constantly
declared, that he had but one point, which was, not to leave an
Englishman in the peninsula. To retard as much as possible the
facility of their re-establishment in Coromandel, if restorations should
be made at the conclusion of a general peace, Mr. Pigot laid a repres-
entation before the council of Madrass, which determined them to
destroy all the interior buildings, as well as the fortifications of Pon-
dicherry, of whic^t the demolition was by this time nearly completed :
and in a few months more, not a roof was left standing in this once
fair and flourishing city.

For two years before, the fortune of France had been declining in
every other part of the world ; they had lost their settlements on the
coast of Africa, half their West India islands, the whole region of
Canada ; their naval force was utterly ruined, and their armies were
struggling under defeats in Germany. The loss of India, as a last
hope, excited the public indignation more than any of the former
disasters, which was so far from producing any reconciliation amongst
the amenable, that it only sharpened their vengeance against each
other. Mr. Lally, on his arrival, formally accused Mr. De Leyrit,
Mr. Bussy, Mr. Moracin and Courtin, of having wilfully conspired
the ruin of the French affairs from their aversion to himself, as ap-
pointed by the King to investigate and correct the abuses of the go-
vernment of Pondicherry. Of 200 persons who were either arrived
or returning from hence, not more than 20 were in habits or con-
nections with Mr. Lally ; all the others, revolted by the excesses of
his temper, or the severity of his authority, bore him either secret
grudge, or avowed hatred ; all these became voluntary partizans with
Mr. De Leyrit and the council, whose resolutions were conducted at
Paris as they had been at Pondicherry, by the Jesuit Lavaur. Their
first step in public was to present a manifest to the comptroller-ge-
neral, in exculpation of themselves, and accusing Mr. Lally of mis-
conduct under nine different heads, which, as they said, proved more
than

than incapacity ; and in August 1762, they petitioned the King to 1761 vindicate themselves juridically from the accusations of Mr. Lally ; April. who some months after was confined in the Bastile. In June 1763, father Lavaur died ; this Jesuit had composed in India two memoirs, the one a justification and panegyrick, the other a defamatory impeachment of every part of Mr. Lally's conduct. Arguments taken from this piece were occasionally supplied to propagate the public antipathy, but it had never been authentically published. As Lavaur was rated as an evidence, his papers were taken possession of by the officers of justice, and amongst them this libel was found. Lavaur, as if ruined by the loss of Pondicherry, had petitioned the government for a small pension of subsistence ; and it was discovered that he died possessed of 60,000 pounds in gold, diamonds, and bills of exchange. This hypocrisy, with the frauds of another Jesuit, who managed the western missions, conduced not a little to the expulsion of the order ; but full attention was given to the memoir of Lavaur, and from its documents the attorney general inserted the charge of high treason, which deprived Mr. Lally of the assistance of council. After he had been confined 18 months, the deponents in the process were brought before him, and he permitted to interrogate them before the recorder. The number of facts deposed against him amounted to one hundred and sixty, for every violent or unguarded expression during the course of his government and ill success was admitted. The number of witnesses must likewise have been many, for Mr. Lally opposed strong reproaches of incompetency to thirty-four of them. The recorder was the same who had given the most sanguinary judgment ever pronounced in France against a young man of family ; and Mr. Lally, with his usual indiscretion and intemperance, aggravated the severity of his character, by treating him with haughtiness and contempt during the discharge of his office. Eighteen months passed in the confrontation and interrogatories, when the final decision was to be made by the whole parliament of Paris, which is composed of 120 members. It must be left to conjecture, how many of them went regularly through the immense volume

1761 of records from which they were to form their judgments, and how few persevered in comparing and combining this multitude of depositions with one another, in a subject so new to them, whether as military operations by land and sea, or as transactions in a strange land, of which they were now to learn the customs, manners, climate, and geography. Nevertheless, with due attention, much of this knowledge, and of the cause itself, might be acquired from the memoirs published not long before the decision, by Mr. D'Aché, Soupires, Bussy, and of Mr. Deleyrit, who was dead, but published by his heirs, with several others of lesser note and importance; and from the more copious justifications of Mr. Lally, written by himself, with the same unconquered spirit of invective against his enemies, as had brought on him the combination of accusations, on which the jurisprudence of his country was now to pronounce. But none of these publications alleged, nor did any evidence assert any fact, to warrant the sentence of his judges, who must therefore have been led by the report of the recorder to condemn him to be beheaded, as duly attainted and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the King, the state, and the East India company; of abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions, upon the subjects of the King, and strangers resident in Pondicherry. Before the sentence was made known, he had been divested in the presence of the court of his military orders, and declared degraded of his military rank, in consequence of which he was removed from the Bastile, as a more honourable confinement, to the common prison of criminals. Here in the morning of the 9th of May, 1766, his sentence was read to him; he threw up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, Is this the reward of 45 years service! and snatching a pair of compasses, which lay with maps on his table, struck it to his breast, but it did not pierce to his heart; he then gave loose to every execration against his judges and accusers. His scaffold was prepared, and his execution appointed for the same afternoon: to prevent him from speaking to the spectators, a large gag was put into his mouth before he was taken out of prison, when he was carried in a common cart, and beheaded on the Greve. He perished in the 65th year of his age.

If abuse of authority, vexations, and exactions, are not capital 1761
in the jurisprudence of France, they ought not to have been in- Appr.
serted, as efficacious, in the sentence of death. The betraying of
interests required that the intention of ruining them should be
proved by incontestable facts; but Mr. Lally neither gave in-
telligence to the English, of which they could take advantage,
nor led or commanded his troops to services of destruction
without the probability of advantage from their efforts, nor re-
ceived bribes to influence the general plan of his conduct. The
invective of his declaration to Colonel Coote, when offering to
surrender, shews how little favour he expected from the English
government; and he had personally offended Mr. Pigot in his
correspondence. Nevertheless, the imputation of having sold Pondi-
cherry, opened the cry against him in France. Mr. D'Estaing, and
Crillon deposed honourably of him. Nor was the sentence of his
judges unanimous. Mr. Siguier, admired for his eloquence, and
Mr. Pellet, for his application and the clearness of his understanding,
declared their conviction of his innocence; another of his judges ac-
knowledged, that he was not condemned on any particular fact, but
on the whole together. Mr. Voltaire, who had well considered the
cause, has not scrupled to call his death a murder committed with
the sword of Justice.

Mr. Lally constantly claimed the right of having his military
conduct tried by a board of general officers. They would have seen
his errors with discernment, and weighed them with impartiality.
That the recall of Mr. Bussy from Salabedjing, and the substituting
the insufficient abilities of Mr. Conflans, produced the loss of Ma-
sulipatam and the northern provinces. That the siege of Madrass
was wrong in the intention, and equally defective in the execution;
but that Mr. Lally expected no abler resistance here than he had
met at Fort St. David. That the separation of the army, by the large
detachment sent to Seringham, which enabled the English to ex-
tend their barrier to the south of the Paliar by the acquisition of
Vandivash and Carangoly, was contrary to the sound principles of
war; but that the motive was, the hope of relieving the want of
money,

1761 money, and the distress for provisions. That the attempt to retake Vandivash, reduced Mr. Lally to the necessity of receiving battle, which as the English were seeking, he ought to have avoided ; but that he had reason to expect greater industry and spirit in the artillery, officers, and engineers, who might have breached the place in half the time. Whether, after this battle, Pondicherry might have been better stored, or whether the provisions collected were injudiciously disposed of, would, after all witnesses, have remained a decision of d^étail.

April.

The troops which arrived with Colonel Coote in November 1759, with his immediate activity in the reduction of Vandivash and Carangoly, brought the war nearly to an equality ; which justified him in risking the battle for the relief of Vandivash, although he fought it with the inexplicit disapprobation of the Presidency in his pocket ; but his dispositions had secured resources against mischance. Before this important success, the views of no one had extended to the reduction of Pondicherry : but instantly after, all were impressed with the firmest persuasion of this termination of the war. This fortunate confidence led to the most vigorous counsels. Nothing, it was reasoned, if all advantages are taken, can save Pondicherry, excepting the arrival of their squadron in force sufficient to cope with the English ; or the lucky introduction of troops and money by divisions of their ships, if the whole do not venture : whatsoever is gained in the mean time will require so much effort to recover, should the enemy be reinforced ; and if they are not, will be so much accomplished towards the ultimate object. The enterprizing sagacity of Colonel Coote lost no time in discovering and taking every advantage. The Presidency seconded his operations by the expedition to Karical, and in supplies to the field ; the garrison of Trichinopoly by their activity ; the detachment to the westward by its vigilance ; the army by their zeal on all occasions. Colonel Coote, by constantly exposing his own person with the Sepoys, had brought them to sustain dangerous services, from which the Europeans were preserved. By this œconomy, and the reinforcements from England and Bombay, if the armament so much announced had arrived, and landed a greater

greater

END *of the* THIRTEENTH BOOK,

AND OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

for the placing and reference of the MAPS.

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